Music from the Tang Court

唐朝傳来の音樂

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Edited by Laurence Picken

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MUSIC FROM THE TANG COURT

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MUSIC FROM THE TANG COURT

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A primary study of the original,
unpublished, Sino-Japanese manuscripts,
together with a survey of relevant historical
sources, both Chinese and Japanese, and
a full critical commentary

edited by
LAURENCE PICKEN and NOËL J. NICKSON

with

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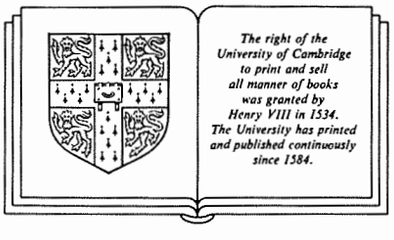

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To the Memory of
R.A. Clarke,
mediator of a first
Qui tollis,
guide on the road to
Xiao Xiang shuiyun
瀟湘水雲
and
'Smoke-rain on *Dongting* Lake'

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Sadly, we have to record the death of a loved and greatly valued colleague, collaborator, and friend of almost twenty years standing. After a long and painful illness, endured with great courage, Professor Yōko Mitani died on 23 February 1989, at the early age of 53. The debt owed her by members of the Tang Music Project has been, and will continue to be, immense. In this fascicle as in previous fascicles, and indeed as in Fascicle 6 now in preparation, her careful revision of draft translations, her identifications of persons and places, have been invaluable. We remember, too, with affection and gratitude the practical contribution as performer which she made to our first attempts to bring to life the earliest tablatures of *Tōgaku* and *Saibara*. Her singing of *Ise no umi* lingers in memory's ear.

The death of Mr Arthur Cooper deprives us both of a scholar and of a friend. As poet and as Sinologist, his gifts have frequently afforded solutions to our problems in the translation of ancient Chinese texts. In this fascicle, his influence is conspicuously displayed in the discussion of *luan*, and in the effortless, equisyllabic translation of the first song-text in *The Book of Songs*.

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Abbreviations

Sino-Japanese manuscript primary sources

CORYF	*Chū Ōga ryūteki yōroku-fu* (*c.* 1320) Yamanoi no Kagemitsu
HFF	*Hakuga no fue-fu* (966) Minamoto no Hiromasa
JCYR	*Jinchi-yōroku* (*c.* 1171) Fujiwara no Moronaga
KCF	*Kaichū-fu* (*c.* 1095) Ōga no Koresue
KF/HSFRK	*Ko-fu/Hōshō-fu ryokan* (1201) Toyohara no Toshiaki
RJSF	*Ruijū sō-fu* (eleventh century) Fujiwara no Morozane
RSCY	*Ruisō-chiyō* (*c.* 1261)
RTHKF	*Ryūteki hikyoku-fu* (1287) Fujiwara no Nagamasa
SGYR	*Sango-yōroku* (*c.* 1171) Fujiwara no Moronaga
SSSTF	*Shinsen shō-teki-fu* (1303)

Chinese and Japanese historical sources

BS	*Beishi* (seventh century) Li Tingshou
DNHS	*Dainihonshi* (1810–50) Tokugawa Mitsukuni and others
GKMR	*Gakukō mokuroku* (see *GKR*)
GKR	*Gakkaroku* (1690) Abe no Suenao
HPGS	*Honpōgaku-setsu* (see *GKR*)
JFJ	*Jiaofangji* (*c.* 758) Cui Lingqin
JGL	*Jiegulu* (*c.* 848–50) Nan Zho
JTS	*Jiu Tangshu* (945) Liu Xu
KKCMJ	*Kokonchomonjū* (1254) Tachibana Narisue
KKS	*Kyōkunshō* (*c.* 1233) Koma no Chikazane
RMS	*Ryūmeishō* (1133) Ōga no Motomasa
STJH	*Sui Tang jia hua* (early eighth century) Liu Su
TD	*Tongdian* (801, 803) Du You
TGS	*Taigenshō* (1510–12) Toyohara no Sumiaki
THY	*Tang Huiyao* (961) Wang Pu
TPGJ	*Taiping guangji* (978) Li Fang
TSJC	*Tushu jicheng* (1726) Chen Menglei and others
WXTK	*Wenxian tongkao* (*c.* 1308) Ma Duanlin
WMRJS	*Wamyō-ruijū-shō* (in part, late tenth century) Minamoto Jun
YFSJ	*Yuefu shiji* (Song Dynasty, before 1101) Guo Maoqian
YFZL	*Yuefu zalu* (890–900) Duan Anjie
ZKKS	*Zoku-Kyōkunshō* (late thirteenth century) Koma no Asakuzu
ZZTJ	*Zizhi tongjian* (1087) Sima Guang

Glossary of Signs

In order to provide the reader with as much information as possible, the transcribed quasi-full-scores also show the Sino-Japanese lexigraphs, etc., used to indicate certain features; by showing these, the reader may have the opportunity to see what the manuscript scores give, as well as our interpretation of what is given.

( ) Round brackets enclose notes etc. to be omitted.

[ ] Square brackets enclose notes and/or explanatory material editorially supplied.

由 Chinese lexigraph, read *yu* in Sino-Japanese, borrowed as sign for a shake. Where the lute, at the same point, shows a plucked mordent, and the zither a slurred mordent, the mouth-organ shake is presumably to be executed as a matching mordent.

ㇵリ These are reduced forms of 引, read *hiku* in Sino-Japanese, originally meaning 'to stretch', hence 'to lengthen'. When the sign functions as a prolongation-sign, the length of the note corresponding to the preceding tablature-sign is doubled.

延 Both mouth-organ manuscripts make use of the lexigraph *nobe/yan* 延, also meaning 'to lengthen', seemingly used as a replacement for *hiku* 引. *Nobe* seems also to be used on occasion, as is *hiku*, as a binary marker (see instances in item 4 in this fascicle).

百 ○ These are signs for the bass-drum beat *hyaku*, today executed as ♪ ♩ This method of execution, with a brief up-beat to the main beat, may reflect ancient practice.

For convenience of reference, drum-beats are numbered in sequence in bold typeface, in both measured and unmeasured movements.

. . ○ . and . . 百 . Such signs constitute a one-line percussion-stave with small, solid dots marking single strokes on the *kakko* (smaller drum) and large hollow dots (and/or 百 *hyaku*) marking principal strokes on the *taiko* (larger drum).

• o Such intracolumnary dots function as binary markers in later manuscripts as well as in *JCYR* and *SGYR*. They may be solid or hollow. To prevent confusion between *kakko*-beats (*kobyōshi*) and binary markers, the latter are shown throughout as hollow dots, regardless of the practice of the individual manuscripts.

丁 This sign, read *tei*, is defined as a short pause in the *Hakuga no fue-fu* (Fascicle 1, pp. 13, 16), but perhaps is to be understood as no more than a break in sound-continuity on the part of the wind, marking the end of an extended phrase or section.

— This sign, read *ichi*, functions as a binary marker in the earliest manuscripts (Fascicle 1, p. 28), and occasionally appears in *JCYR* and *SGYR* also. In transcription the sign is rotated through 90°: |.

火 The lexigraph *ka/huo* 'fire' is a metaphor for speed. In the *Hakuga no fue-fu* (Fascicle 1, p. 9; Marett 1976, 1977) 火 is equated with the lexigraph 急. This covers a range of meanings, all related to 'swiftly', both

in Chinese and in Japanese. When written in sequence following a pitch-sign, the effect of 火 is to halve the duration of the preceding note. Between two pitch-signs, the duration of both notes is halved. In all contexts, the precise significance of 火 is determined by relationships between pitch-signs within a binary unit. Thus, if there are only two such signs within the unit, and if the second is followed by 火, this note is halved, and the binary unit is completed with a rest. Marett (1977, p. 20) sets out a number of variant uses of 火 – in specifying sequences of quavers in the context of predominantly crotchet movement, for example. ス appears to be used as a speed-writing form of 火.

二 The numeral '2', written following a pitch-sign, indicates that the note is to be repeated. The duration of the repeated note, and the durations of both notes, depend on relationships between all tablature-signs within the binary unit.

This sign marks a retrograde movement in plucking a string on zither or lute.

Preface

The reader seeking a general introduction to the series, and to the scheme adopted for the organization of the contents of fascicles, is referred to the introduction to the first fascicle (1981). There, information will be found relating to the manuscript sources, to problems of transcription, to the development of our 'Tang Music Group' and of our ideas regarding the history of the manuscript tradition in Japan. No attempt will be made here, or in succeeding fascicles, to repeat information once given. Where new manuscript sources come to be used, or where new information requires modification of views previously held, such matters will be recorded in a suitable introduction or postface to a particular fascicle.

Those responsible for the transcriptions published in this fascicle are: E.J.M. (zither), A.J.M. (flute), R.F.W. (lute), L.E.R.P. (mouth-organ). Bass-drum beats are marked as ○, ●, or 百. 'Small beats', *kobyōshi* 小拍子, are omitted in mouth-organ versions dotted for *gakubyōshi*-performance (see R.F.W., Fascicle 4, p. 117). Ignoring the varying practices of the different sources, intracolumnary binary markers are shown as hollow dots in both string and mouth-organ versions. Bass-drum beats are shown in mouth-organ versions as large hollow dots – in the originals they are large, solid, red dots – and as 百 in string-versions. In lute-versions, where notes are repeated at the same pitch, open-string notes are shown, regardless of the position of the note-head on the stave, with tails down (see Markham, 1983, 1, p. 49). In octave-leaps, open-string notes are also shown with tails down.

Foreword to the First Kuchean Mode: *Sādhārita*

This fascicle, organised on the same lines as the preceding four, contains those items grouped by Fujiwara no Moronaga (Fascicle 1, pp. 34–8, *passim*) in the sub-class *Sada-chō* of the mode-key class *Ichikotsu-chō* (Fascicle 1, pp. 26–8). The examination of this sub-group will complete the presentation, in transcription, of the first section of the *Tōgaku* repertory.

In his *SGYR*, Moronaga prefaces his scores of items in *Sada-chō* with a partly historical introduction headed: '*Sada-chō* Pieces' *Sada-chō kyoku/Shatuo diao qu* 沙陁 [=陀] 調曲, with a practical observation in the form of an aside, addressed to the player: 'Lute plays them in *Sōjō*[-tuning]' *Biwa Sōjō ni kore o hiku/Piba Shuangdiao tan zhi* 琵琶雙調彈之. In what follows, Moronaga cites a named authority verbatim, knowing that one lexigraph is wrongly used. Modestly, he expresses his doubts at the end (p. xiii). The error in his source transforms *Satariki* nonsensically to *Batariki*.

The preface continues, offering the following information:

Huiyao [that is, presumably the first recension of the *Tang Huiyao* 'Institutes of Tang', offered to the Throne in 801 – see Fascicle 3, p. 8] states:[1] The *Gong*-mode on *Taizoku/Taicou* 太簇 is popularly called *Sada-chō/Shatuo-diao*.' 會要云太簇宮時号沙陁調. [That is to say, this mode-key is a *Kyū/Gong*-mode – the basic Chinese Glarean (or Church) Lydian series – starting on a pitch a whole-tone above *Kōsō/Huangzhong*, the pitch of the final of the entire modal system.] *The Record of Ordered Pitches in the Great Learning*[2] states: The *Gongdiao* on the *Huangzhong*-pitch is the authentic *Gong*-sound. [That is to say, the only authentic Lydian mode is that of which the fundamental of the entire Chinese system is the final.] The *Yuefu*[3] calls it the *Batariki*-system [*b'uâ* (K.25q)-*t'â* (K.4a)-*liə̯k* (K.928a)]. In the Brahmin Country it is called the *Aryakuro* [*'a* (K.1m)-*liə̯k* (K.766v)-*lâ* (K.6a)=Arya or Arhan=Saintly-Man's]-system. According to the *Law for Changing Gong on the Lute*,[4] in the Eleventh Month [it is the] *Huangzhong*-scale (*Huangzhong* acts as *Gong* [=final], *Taicou* acts as *Shang* [=superfinal]); but in the First Month, it is the *Taicou*-scale (*Taicou* acts as *Gong*; *Guxian* acts as *Shang*).

[1] This quotation is to be found in the immensely important second half of the *Yayue*-Chapter (c. 33, 'All Music' – in the sense of 'Music in General' – *Zhuyue* 諸樂 in the present *Tang huiyao* (*Guoxue jiben congshu*, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1955, p. 615). The second lexigraph is correctly 陁. The passage is prefaced by the date '754, seventh month, tenth day'. 'The Chief Music Office submitted the titles of pieces and [proposed] changes in the titles of Music in General. *Taicou gong*, popular name *Shatuo-diao* [*Shatuo*=*ṣa* (K.16a) – *t'â* (K.4f) (K.=Karlgren: *Grammata Serica Recensa*)]; 'The Kuchean Buddhist Piece' is to be changed to 'The Spiritual Man from the Cave of Golden Splendour'; 'Indian Jade' is to be changed to 'The Piece: Obedience to the Saints. . .' 天寶十三載七月十日。太樂署供奉曲名。及改諸樂名。太簇宮時號沙陁調。龜茲佛曲改爲金華洞眞。因度玉改爲歸聖曲…

In the context of these reforms in nomenclature, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the entry relating to a modal name implies overt acceptance of a *terminus technicus* known to be of foreign origin.

[2] The term: *Daigaku/Daxue* cannot have anything to do with the Confucian classic *The Great Learning*, in which no reference to music of any kind occurs; nor does such reference occur in the earliest commentary of Zengzi, or in that of Zhu Xi. It may refer to the Imperial University and to a text in use by the *Ompakase* 音博士 Doctor of Music.

[3] 'Music Bureau' (*Yuefu*) is perhaps a reference to the Tang music-office.

[4] That is, the calendrical shift of modal final, and hence of tuning, with the sequence of the months. For an account of this procedure consult: Markham, Elizabeth J., Picken, L.E.R., Wolpert, R.F. 'Pieces for *biwa* in calendrically correct tunings, from a manuscript in the Heian Museum, Kyōto', *Musica Asiatica 5*, pp. 191–209, Cambridge (1988); in particular see pp. 195–7.

According to present opinion, the old [final] pitch of *Sada-chō/Shatuo diao* was *Taizoku/Taicou* (*E*); the new pitch is *Kōshō/Huangzhong* (*D*). The sounds are the same as [those of] the middle[-sized] transverse flute. Hole *roku* 六 is then the note of today's *Sada-chō* (*D*).

In the other form [of the modal name] with 波 [in 婆 of *Batariki*] for 沙 [in *Satariki*], is not one lexigraph wrong?' [That is, the lexigraph should probably be 娑 *so*, used in transcribing Sanskrit *sa*, pointing to a sixth-century Chinese reading: *Sātāli*.]
大学叙律記云宮調黄鐘律正宮聲楽府謂之婆陁力調婆羅門国曰阿略羅聲。琵琶旋。宮クウノ法。ホウ方十一月黄鐘均(黄鐘爲宮太簇爲商)正月太簇均(太簇爲宮沽洗爲商)。 今案古律太簇新律黄鐘。其聲同中横笛六孔是則今沙陁調也彼波與沙。一字誤歟 琵琶雙調彈。

The final five lexigraphs in this passage repeat the previous aside: 'The lute plays in *Sōjō/Shuangdiao*[-tuning].'

In Fascicle 4, p. 8, the nature of the *Sada-chō* mode-key, and its probable identity with the first Kuchean mode: *Sādhārita* (transcribed, in Middle Chinese, as *Sātāli* in the *Sui History*), was examined. Moronaga's prefatory note, examined in detail here, shows that he was aware of the transcribed form of *Sādhārita* (*Sātāli*), and that, on the authority of the *Huiyao*, he knew this to be a Lydian octave species. He was evidently also aware that it had become, in his day, a transposed mode, transposed a tone down from its original final pitch of *E* (accepting *D* as the final of the entire modal system). In view of the firm identification of *Sātāli* with a Lydian note-set, in both *Huiyao* and (by implication) in the *Sui History* with Kuchean *Sādhārita*, it is not surprising that Moronaga's string versions for *Sada-chō* pieces are all Lydian. It is indeed surprising, however, that the mouth-organ versions of *Sada-chō* pieces are at times Mixolydian. In view of the conservatism of the mouth-organ versions in general, it seems not impossible that they may reflect a modal transformation that had already occurred, before transmission to Japan, because of the great popularity of *Shang*-modality in Tang China.

Moronaga's awareness of Tang modal standards is made evident by this preface, and it is conceivable that the statements relating to modal systems (*diao*) in *Huiyao* were immediately responsible for his decision to effect a transposition of pieces, known from Chinese sources to have been originally in the *Shang*-mode (Mixolydian), with *D* as final, to a Lydian condition, because it was improper that a note-set that begins on the final of the basic mode of the entire Tang-Chinese modal system should be other than Lydian.

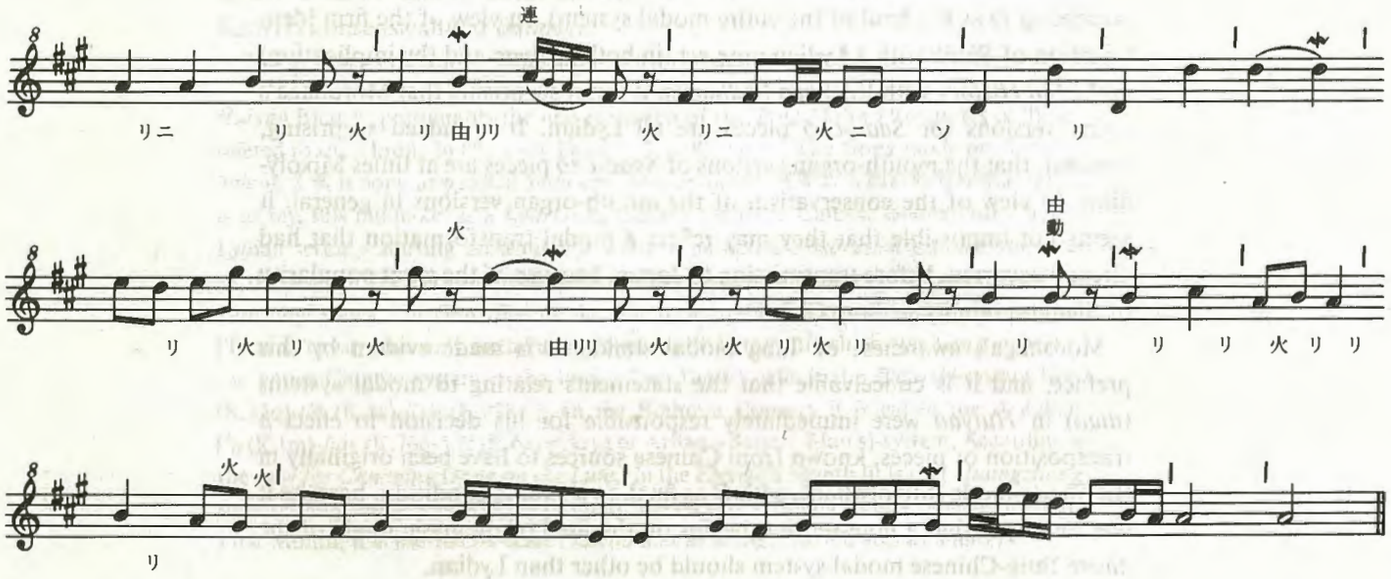
SADA-CHŌ SHORTER MODAL PRELUDE *Bongen* 品玄

CORYF c. 1320

CORYF 1587

CORYF 1674

RTYF 1688

(*RTYF*=*Ryūteki yōroku-fu* 龍笛要録譜, *Ueno Gakuen*)

A *Sada-chō Bongen* (Fascicle 2, p. 13) is preserved in *CORYF* (*c.* 1320, 1587, 1674) and *RYTF* (1688). As Shiba's titles and transcriptions show (1972, 4, pp. 124–40), *Bongen* are a shorter type of modal prelude, consisting of a smaller number of periods (*kō, ku/ju* 句) than a modal prelude. A title such as *Ichikotsu-chō ryūteki Chōshi Bongen* (ibid. 4, p. 124) expresses this relationship. Up to the present, there is no cause to suggest that such a modal prelude of the *Bongen*-type is Chinese in origin, even though the concept of modal prelude was Chinese – as shown by the contents of *FBBF* (Wolpert, 1977). Tentatively it may be accepted that this *Bongen* is a Japanese modal composition. It should be emphasized, however, that we cannot be certain that in the time of Ōga no Kagemitsu, compiler of *CORYF*, *Sada-chō* pieces were performed by the flute, as by Moronaga's strings, in the Lydian Mode. The fact that the piece ends on the dominant suggests, perhaps, that it is incomplete, and that this is only a first period of the original *Bongen*.

The seventh-century Kuḍumiyāmalai rock-inscription (South India) includes a piece in the *Sādhārita rāga*, and this piece is shown in transcription in a study by Widdess (1979).[5]

[5] Widdess, D.R. (1979) 'The Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription: a source of early Indian music in notation' *Musica Asiatica 2*, pp. 115–50; see p. 147.

24

Piece

(at times regarded as a Suite):

'The King of Lanling'

Ryō-ō/Ling wang or *Ra-ryō-ō/Luoling wang* or *Ran-ryō-ō/Lanling wang*

陵王 or 羅陵王 or 蘭陵王

The title, its significance and history

Curiously enough, *SGYR* (but not *JCYR*) dispenses with a preface to the piece itself, though it offers a short preface on the mode-key class and likewise a short preface to an important, and structurally unusual, prelude: 'The Wild Prelude' *Kōjo/Huangxu* 荒序 (p. 16). *JCYR* and *SGYR* both give the title as *Ryō-ō/Ling wang* 陵王 'The King of the Grave-Mound'; but *JCYR* already offers another name: *Raryō-ō/Luoling wang* 羅陵王 'The King of Luoling'. This form of the name is not known to the Chinese sources; but it may well be a writing-substitute for 'The King of Lanling', known to those same sources. Lanling 蘭陵 was the name of a sixth-century principality in the Northern-Qi dynasty (550–77). In other contexts, the *on*-reading of the first lexigraph is *ran*, but in the title of the present piece it is frequently read *ra*; so that the title becomes *Raryō-ō*, coinciding with the previous spelling as *Luoling wang*. 'Silk gauze' *luo* (=*ra*), being a more familiar lexigraph, seems to have been substituted for 'orchid' *lan* (*ran* or *ra*), a less familiar lexigraph.

From *KKS* it would seem that the Japanese first learned the name in the form *Lanling wang* from *TD*, to which they may have had access early in the ninth century; but the name does not occur, written in the form 蘭陵王 in any of the oldest scores (*JCYR*, *SGYR*, *RSCY*, *KFHSFRK*, *SSSTF*). A more revealing title is preserved in what Gimm has identified as the earliest historical note regarding the piece, namely, that in the *Beishi* 北史[6] by Li Yanshou 李延壽 (*c.* 612–78); 'The piece: The King of Lanling penetrates the formation' (see later). (This title is known to *Honpōgaku-setsu*, *GKR* 31, from the *TD* account.)

The piece in Chinese sources

The King of Lanling was an historical personage; and the event that led to the making of a 'piece' (*qu* 曲) – more precisely, a popular ballad (*geyao* 歌謠) – on this event is clearly described in the earliest Chinese source. It is certain, however, that at an early stage – certainly by the middle of the eighth century – the ballad was linked with, or transformed into: first, a weapon-dance; and later, a masked dance in which the dance-property carried was a whip. The question may well be asked: whether the *Bugaku*-item that survives to this day in Japan – a solo-dance by a masked dancer carrying a baton – bears any relationship at all to the sixth-century Chinese piece, other than two words from the original title: *Ling wang*?

While shorter and longer extracts from *The Northern History* (*Beishi* 北史) have been quoted by Gimm (1966, p. 181), and by Ren Bantang (1958),[7] no one appears to have recognised the tragic element in the history of the king, or that the account of his last years perhaps reveals a medical reason for the later change in character of the piece as-

[6] Zhonghua shuju edn 中華書局 (Beijing, 1959); j. 52, pp. 1879, 1880.

[7] Ren Bantang 任半塘 (1984) *Tang xinong* 唐戲弄 (Shanghai guji chuban she).

sociated with his name. Ren includes a partial examination of the historical account; but what he chooses to cite by no means includes all that may be significant for later developments, and his interpretation of the text appears at times to be made with hindsight.

The full text from *The Northern History*[8] may be translated as follows (the Chinese text of portions between asterisks (*) is given later):

King Wu of Lanling, Changgong (another name was Xiaoguan), was the fourth son of Wenxiang[9] of Qi. He was promoted Prefect of Bingzhou. When Turks penetrated Jinyang, Changgong, with utmost vigour, routed them. In the victory[10] at Mangshan,[11] Changgong led the central army. At the head of 500 cavalry, he again penetrated the army of Zhou.[12] Subsequently, arriving below the walls of Jinyong, he was encircled and hard pressed. The men on the city-wall not recognising him, Changgong took off his helmet, and showed his face; they at once let fall their crossbows from their hands and came[13] to his aid; a great victory followed. Together the soldiers sang ballads about it; they made the piece: 'The King of Lanling penetrates the formation' Successively he governed the two departments of Sizhou and Qingying and received recompense. Subsequently he was made Great Chief of the Army. Together with Duanzhao he attacked Baigu; he also attacked Dingyang. When [Duan]zhao fell sick, Changgong superintended his troops. During his battle achievements, he was further enfiefed with Julu, Changle, Leping, Gaoyang, and other prefectures.

After the victory at Mangshan, Houzhu[14] addressed Changgong saying: 'You penetrated deeply into the formation; if you had suffered a military reverse, it would have been too late to repent such action.' Replying Changgong said: 'Family affairs are intimate matters; I didn't consider the consequences, I did it.' The emperor was suspicious of his reference to 'family affairs' and in the aftermath envied and avoided him.

When he was at Dingyang, his subordinate, Wei Xiangyuan, addressed him saying: 'You have already received the trust of the Court. How did you obtain this, being apparently both avaricious and cruel?' Changgong did not reply. Xiangyuan said: 'Because of the great victory at Mangshan you were afraid people would be jealous of your military success, and so you sought to defame yourself.' Changgong said: 'It is so.' Xiangyuan said: 'If the Court was jealous of you, your behaviour should have been punished. You sought wealth; but instead calamity came quickly.' Changgong's tears fell. As a supplicant he begged for a safe method.[15] Xiangyuan said: 'You have already rendered loyal service to the State. Now once more you announce victory. Your fame is too great. It would be better to say you are ill and to stay at home. Do not have anything to do with current events.' Changgong agreed with his words but was not yet able to retire.

At Jianghuai bandits gave trouble. He was apprehensive about returning as general and said with a sigh: 'Last year my face was swollen. Why doesn't the sickness manifest itself today?[16]' From this, he had been sick and was not yet cured. In the Fourth Year of *Wuping* [573] and in the Fifth Month, the emperor ordered Xu Zhifan to give [Changgong] poison to drink. Changgong addressed his wife saying: 'I was loyal in serving the emperor. In what way am I guilty in his sight, that I should meet with poison?' His wife said: 'Why not apply to visit the emperor?' Changgong said: 'As to visiting the emperor, how does one get to visit him?' Subsequently drinking poison, he died. The posthumous rank of *Taiwei* 'Great Head' was conferred upon him.

[17] Changgong's manner was gentle, but his character was masculine. His voice and appearance alike were attractive. As a general he personally gave help in lesser matters. Any delicacy he obtained, be it a melon, or several fruits, he had to share with his soldiers. Early in his time at Yingzhou, the Ambulant Administrator, Yang Shishen, listed the bribes he [Yang] had taken and was dismissed from office. When he[18] attacked Dingyang, Shishen was still in the army, and he feared misfortune would befall him. Changgong heard about this and said: 'I truly did not have this intention', and he looked for a small fault.[19] [Shi]shen was given twenty heavy lashes to settle the matter. Once when he[18] went to Court, all his servants had left when he came out; he alone; remained. Changgong returned home alone. Wucheng[20] praised his merit and commanded Gu Hu to purchase for him[18] twenty concubines; he[18] only accepted one of them. There were owing to him[18] a thousand promissory notes; on the point of death, all these were burned on his orders.

蘭陵武王長恭、一名孝瓘、文襄第四子也。累遷幷州刺史。 突厥入晉陽、長恭盡力擊之。 芒山之(敗)〔役〕長恭爲中軍、 率五百騎再入周軍、 遂至金墉之下、被圍甚急。 城上人弗識、長恭免胄示之面、乃下弩手救之、於是大捷。武士共歌謠之、爲蘭陵王入陣曲是也。

及江淮寇擾恐復爲將、歎曰：我去年面腫、今何不発？

長恭貌柔心壯、音容兼美。

Several points in this passage merit attention:

(a) Hard-pressed, Changgong removes his helmet and shows his face: To interpret the text, as Ren Bantang did, in the sense of taking off his helmet to show a *mask*, could only occur to someone knowing that a century or more later the *Lanling wang* piece had become a masked dance. The construction of Chinese helmets in the sixth century is not known. Bronze helmets of the Shang (from Anyang) are close-fitting casques of solid bronze, with built-in cheek-pieces, restricting the area of the face exposed to view. Ming illustrations of Tang, laminated armour, show conical helmets, extending far down over the face, and at times also fitted with cheek-pieces, apt to restrict still further the view of the wearer's face.[21]

[8] The text is virtually identical with that of *The History of Northern Qi* (*Bei Qi shu* 北齊書), j. 11, pp. 146–8 (Beijing 1972, Zhonghua shuju)

[9] first son of Emperor Gaozu (496–547)

[10] Reading 役 rather than 敗, as suggested by the editor of this edition.

[11] in 564

[12] That is the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–81).

[13] down from the walls

[14] the Emperor; reigned 565–77; personal name Wei 緯; cousin to Changgong.

[15] to protect himself from the consequences of imperial envy and distrust.

[16] Perhaps, even more directly: 'Why isn't it rising today?' 'Last year' does not, of course, refer to the year of victory at Mangshan, 564.

[17] This paragraph is supplied by the Tang editor of the *Beishi*, Li Yanshou.

[18] The pronoun stands for Changgong.

[19] To punish, rather than the grave crime of ignoring dismissal.

[20] The emperor: uncle to Changgong; reigned 561 and 562.

[21] See Yang Hong 楊泓: 'Survey of Ancient Chinese Military Weapons' *Zhongguo gu bingqi luncong* 中国古兵器論叢, Wenwu chuban she, Beijing (1980), pp. 9 and 63. We are indebted to Dr Francesca Bray for this reference.

(b) The statement by the king: 'Last year my face was swollen' and the annalist's inference that the king had been sick and was not cured. A swollen face is also a 'big face'. If his men referred to him affectionately as 'Old Big Face', here is a possible ground for the piece's becoming a masked dance. A 'big face', *da mian* 大面, is a mask.

(c) The editorial statement made about his appearance, manner, and character: This describes an unusually attractive person, a leader for whom men would die, precisely because of his caring disposition. The adjective *mei* 美, applied to the king's voice and appearance, has a very wide range of meanings, from good, kind, attractive, excellent, admirable, to pretty and beautiful. To interpret it, as later accounts do, in terms of quasi-feminine beauty is unjustifiable. There is no suggestion here of effeminacy; still less is there any suggestion that the king's appearance necessitated concealment of his face in the interests of success as a commander of troops. And these remarks regarding personal qualities are only made at the end of an account of a tragic figure, whose bravery, popularity, and success on the field of battle, invited envy from his imperial relative and, in the end, a poisoned cup. It is surely noteworthy that only in this editorial addition is any comment on Changgong's personal appearance made. The comment is not part of the biography.

What appears to be the earliest subsequent report of a piece with the title 'The King of Lanling' (*Lanling wang*) occurs in the text of a commemorative inscription on the gravestone[22] of the Senior Princess[23] of Daiguo.[24]

. . .At a banquet given by the Empress Zetian[25] in The Hall of Illumination,[26] the [present] Emperor,[27] five years old,[28] danced 'The Long-Lived Woman' (*Changming* [*nü*[29]]) for the Prince of Chu. [So-and-so,[30]] twelve years [old?], did[31] 'Young-Gentleman An' (*An gongzi*[32]) for the Imperial Grandson(s). The Prince of Qi,[33] four years old, performed 'The King of Lanling' for the Prince of Wei[34] and, as leader of the file,[35] declaimed, saying:

O Prince of Wei! We enter the arena
Avowing our wishes for the Divine Saint:
'A myriad years to the Divine Empress!'

The grandchildren formed a file and a three-year-old princess, pairing with the Princess Shouchang,[36] danced 'Western Liang'.[37] All the officials in the Great Hall[38] shouted together: "A myriad years!".

則天太后御明堂宴聖上年六歲爲楚王舞長命闕三字一年十二爲皇孫作安公子岐王年五歲爲衛王弄蘭陵王兼爲行主詞曰衛王入場咒願神聖神皇萬歲孫子成行公主年四歲與壽昌公主對舞西凉殿上羣臣咸呼萬歲

The passage affords a charming glimpse of intimate court entertainment of the Tang in the late seventh century. Since Xuanzong (referred to in the text as *Shengshang*) was born in 685, the year in which he reached the age of five (by Western reckoning – six, by Chinese reckoning) will have been 690. The formality of procedures that emerges from this account is borne out by reports from other sources.[39] The dedication of particular items to a particular person is a striking feature, and the interpretation of *wei* 爲 as 'for' is supported by the entry relating to the Prince of Wei, where performance is associated with an act of declamation again linked with the title of the prince.

[22] Set up in 734 (Kaiyuan 22) when Xuanzong 玄宗 was emperor.

[23] The Dai guo Princess was the fourth surviving daughter of Emperor Ruizong and Empress Liu.

[24] The Kingdom of Dai lay North of modern Taiyuan. In the Tang period it was a region much influenced by the adjacent culture of Turkic peoples.

[25] The Empress who assumed the imperium, as Wu *di*, from 690 to 705.

[26] This was the *Ming Tang*, begun in 688 and completed in the same year. When the building was completed the Empress feasted the Court in the Great Hall of the complex (see C.P. Fitzgerald: *The Empress Wu*, 1956). From then onwards, great ceremonies were held at the *Ming Tang*. The complex was largely destroyed by fire in 695, but rebuilt as the New Hall of Illumination: *Xin Ming Tang*, in 696.

[27] 'The Emperor' *Shengshang* 聖上 (=Saintly Supremacy) – that is the future Emperor Xuanzong.

[28] Subtracting one year of intra-uterine life from the figure of six in the text.

[29] The title *Changming nu* is known from the Tang lists of piece-titles.

[30] Two further lexigraphs are missing from the inscription as transcribed. If 'twelve years' is again an age, the missing text may have been a title; but the form in which the age is stated differs from that used previously. If the number is an age, one year should again be deducted.

[31] The use of this verb usually implies not composition but a performance that incorporates some creative modification.

[32] A piece of this title occurs in the Tang lists and in the *Tōgaku* repertory. It is improbable that it should have been composed by a child of eleven.

[33] Qi was a territory in modern Shenxi Province.

[34] Wei: a territory along the South bank of the Yellow River in Honan Province.

[35] The *Jinshi cuibian* text (n. 38) has 行王 'the Prince of Xing'; in the *Qinding quan Tangwen*, the text reads 行主 'leader of the file or row'.

[36] The first of Emperor Ruizong's daughters.

[37] A title known to the Tang lists of pieces and possibly related to the *Tōgaku* piece *Sairyōshū* (Fascicle 6).

[38] 殿上 *Dian shang*. The inscription was transcribed (with lacunae) in *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 78.22a–30a, with corrections in *Baqiong shi jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正 55.1a–2a. A partly corrected text is given in *Qinding quan Tangwen* 欽定全唐文 279.3b–7a, and the passage relating to *Lanling wang* was considered by Ren Bantang (p. 597). The inscription was composed by the widower, Zheng Wanjun, Imperial Son-in-Law, Sixth (or Seventh) Rank, and the gravestone was set up in Pucheng xian in the territory of modern Shenxi Province.

[39] See the account of a Song-dynasty palace-entertainment by H.K. Joseph: 'The Chanda', *T'oung Pao, 62* (1976), pp. 167–98. (A slip converts Joseph's reference to *Songshi, Bona* 142.9b, to *Sungshu*.) The passage may be translated: 'The Musicians offered linked words [of praise] in the form of a poem in one stanza called a *Shout* (*Kouhao*) [=Declamation]. The same expounded the excellence of his virtue, such that the desires of all, within and without [the land] followed [his pattern], chanting [his praises]. At the first word, the crowd of ministers all rose to listen. When the words were finished, they twice made obeisance.' 樂工致辭繼以詩一章謂之口號皆述德美及中外蹈詠之情初致辭羣臣皆起聽辭畢再拜、

The passage also shows that, a century and a quarter after the time of the King of Lanling, a piece of shorter (but related) title was performed, by a male child of the imperial family, at the Tang Court. The nature of this performance is not revealed; but from a brief note by Liu Su 劉餗 (fl. 742)[40] it is plain that, by the middle of the eighth century, a profound change had occurred:

Changgong, King of Lanling of the Qi Dynasty, family name Gao, fair browed[41] as is a beautiful woman, he therefore wore a mask [a 'false face'] with which to face the enemy. When he battled with the army of Zhou below Jinyong, he was braver than the foremost in three divisions of troops. The people of Qi esteemed his greatness and made a dance by which the manner of his signalling [as leader], handling of weapons, striking, and piercing, was imitated. This is today's 'Masking' [literally, 'Big Face' – reading *da* 大 for *ren* 人].

高齊蘭陵王長恭、白類[41]美婦人、乃著假面以對敵。與周師戰於金墉下、勇冠三軍。齊人壯之、乃爲舞以效其指麾擊刺之容。今〔人〕〔大〕面是。

Liu Su's note states:

(a) that Changgong was beautiful as a woman;
(b) that he therefore wore a mask in battle;
(c) that what was composed was a dance, and at that a martial dance, imitating actions in fighting;
(d) that this was what was known as 'Masking' when he wrote.

Although Ren Bantang suggests that no account (other than the *Beishi*) is earlier than that in *JFJ* (see later), the editors of the Qing encyclopaedia *Tushu jicheng* (1726) plainly gave priority to Liu Su (p. 5). Ren Bantang has argued for an approximate date of 758 for *JFJ* (*q.v.*); but this could well be later than the comments in the 'Old Tang History' *Jiu Tangshu* (*JTS*), into which (as demonstrated by Pulleyblank, 1949–50) the basic annals of the earlier *Tangshu* (from 618 to 759) were incorporated. The *JTS* text does not permit dating of individual passages in the absence of in-text dating, save in particular instances (see discussion in Picken, 1965, p. 82). In the 'Monograph on Music' (*Yinyue zhi* 音樂志) the structure of the four chapters suggests that later material was added, for the most part, to the ends of the chapters, rather than by interpolation. The observations relative to 'masking' in *JTS* occur in the middle of the second chapter. First: 'Masking' *Da mian* [= Big Face] heads a list of four 'Song & Dance Spectacles' *Gewu xi* 歌舞戲, criticised by the Xuanzong Emperor for the unorthodoxy of their tunes, and ordered to be allocated by the *Jiaofang* (Fascicle 2, p. 7) to the proscribed items (*JTS*, 29, p. 1073). Secondly (*JTS*, 29, p. 1074), a statement (slightly longer than that by Liu Su) with one important further correlation:

Masking arose in Northern Qi. Changgong, King of Lanling in Northern Qi, being militarily gifted but with a handsome face, usually wore a false-face [a mask] with which to face the enemy. When he routed the army of Zhou below the walls of Jinyong, he was braver than the foremost in three divisions of troops. The people of Qi, esteeming his greatness, made this dance in which the manner of his signalling, handling weapons, striking, and piercing, was imitated, and called it 'The Piece: The King of Lanling Penetrates the Formation'.

大面出於北齊。北齊蘭陵王長恭、才武而面美、常著假面以對敵。嘗擊周師金墉城下、勇冠三軍、齊人壯之、爲此舞以效其指麾擊刺之容、謂之蘭陵王入陣曲。

If the first of these entries in *JTS* already shows that 'Masking' was both a song and a dance-spectacle, this second entry shows that the title, already given in the *Beishi* (p. 1), was applied to a martial, song-and-dance piece, imitating fighting movements, when the section on 'Miscellaneous Musical Items' was compiled for the *JTS*.

Regarding this category ('Miscellaneous Musical Items'): while *JTS* states that 'it existed through successive generations' *lidai you zhi* 歷代有之, *TD* (at least fifty years later in compilation), using the term *Sanyue* 散樂 as a sub-heading (in Chapter 146), defines the items as 'The Hundred pre-Sui Spectacles' – spectacles in the sense of a staged performance of some kind (*Sui yi qian zhi baixi* 隋以前之百戲, and the *JTS* text introduces the same term: *Baixi*, as a general term for miscellaneous items. The *TD* text that relates to Changgong differs only from that of *JTS* in stating that his appearance was attractive *or* that he was handsome *maomei* 貌美, rather than that his face was beautiful *mianmei* 面美. Although the statement about pre-Sui spectacles is not made explicitly in *JTS*, the items that follow *Sanyue* in *JTS*, up to and including the two references to *Damian*, are linked with pre-Sui dynasties or emperors, with the exception of a reference to the time of the Emperor Ruizong and (as noted already) to Xuanzong. While the bulk of Chapter 29 (*JTS*) covers material referring to the period before, or not much later than, 755, *much of this material evidently describes practices of pre-Sui date* (before 581). In theory it is possible that the King-of-Lanling piece had already become 'masking'; and that the legend of the too-pretty king was already current, by the beginning of the Tang dynasty. Evidently, also, what Xuanzong proscribed was in some way related to what he had seen performed at court when he was five years old.

Accepting Ren Bantang's dating of *JFJ*[42] at 758, it is noteworthy that the piece is referred to at length under the title 'Masking' *Damian*:

'Masking' arose in Northern Qi. Changgong, King of Lanling, was by nature brave but in appearance like a woman. Believing himself inadequately equipped to overawe the enemy, he therefore carved wood to make a false face. About to go into battle, he wore it. Therefore this spectacle was made and entered [the repertory] as a song-piece.

大面出北齊。蘭陵王長恭性膽勇、而貌若婦人。自嫌不足威敵、乃刻木爲假面、臨陣著之。因爲此戲亦入歌曲。

[40] In *Sui Tang jia hua* 隋唐嘉話 2, p. 31

[41] Accepting Ren Bantang's reading of *e* 額 or 頟 for 類 (Ren Bantang, 1984, p. 594)

[42] Ren Bantang, *Jiaofang ji jianding* 教坊記箋訂, *Hongye shuju* 宏業書局, Taibei, 1964; see section headed *Tang Cui Lingqin zhuanji* 唐崔令欽撰記.

Here the 'false-face' is defined as carved from wood, and it is plain that, for the author (Cui Lingqin) *Lanling wang* was both a masking spectacle and a song; nevertheless he never gives the title of the piece in its original, *Beishi*-form: *Lanling wang ruzhen qu*. Even in the list of titles of pieces, he presents the title in its shortened form: *Lanling wang*, the form employed on the grave-stone of the Daiguo Princess in the description of the banquet-entertainment in 690. Furthermore, elsewhere in *JFJ*[43], Cui classes *Lanling wang* – along with *Huibei yue* (Fascicle 3, p. 46) and *Chunying zhuan* (Fascicle 2, p. 45; Fascicle 3, pp. 73, 86) – in the 'Supple' rather than in the 'Vigorous' category of dances (Fascicle 2, p. 10). This suggests that, by his time (at the end of Xuanzong's reign – the end of the *Tianbao* reign-period), the dance associated with 'Masking' was no longer a martial dance. This last is made explicit in a yet later Chinese reference, in *YFZL* (from the end of the ninth century: 890 to 900). The passage occurs in the 'Drum-Stand Division' (*Gujia bu* 鼓架部) (Gimm, 1966, pp. 178–83, n. 3):

> 'Spectacles include (face-bearing ["Masking"], which derives from the younger brother of Shenwu[44] of Northern Qi. Fearless and brave, and an excellent fighter in battle, because his facial expression did not inspire dread, whenever he went into battle, he then put on a face-tool [=mask]. Thereafter in a hundred battles [he enjoyed] a hundred victories. The performers in the spectacle wore purple garments, gold at the waist, and grasped whips.' Whips have evidently replaced pikes.

戲有代面始自北齊神武弟有膽勇善鬪戰以其顏貌無威每入陣卽著面具後乃百戰百勝戲者衣紫腰金執鞭也

The sequence of texts relating to the King of Lanling, as now set out here, in probable historical order, displays the elaboration of a legend. In this last passage, Duan Anjie's 'in a hundred battles he enjoyed a hundred victories' owes nothing to the original biography in the *Beishi*; and it is surely improbable that either Duan or any of the previous writers, writing subsequent to that account, ever consulted the *Beishi*. Clearly, it is in the statement by Liu Su, that the earlier, restrained statement by the Tang historian, Li Yanshou, writing about a century later than the time of Changgong, in a personal comment on the official biography, receives its first major inflation. The words of Li Yanshou: 'Changgong's manner was gentle, but his character was masculine. His voice and appearance alike were attractive' appear to have given rise to 'fair browed as is a beautiful woman' (Liu Su). While *JTS* is content with 'a handsome (or even 'a beautiful') face', *JFJ* again states that he was 'in appearance like a woman'.

Expansion of Chinese texts relating to the King of Lanling between the mid-seventh and the late-ninth centuries

Symbols: circled lexigraphs in citations from *BS* are repeated in later texts; those in square brackets are amplifications; lexigraphs underlined are amplifications common to several texts.

	Expressions relating to appearance	Expressions relating to face
BS	Editor's Note: his manner was gentle, but his character was masculine. His voice and appearance alike were attractive. (貌)柔心壯音容兼(美)	Biography: took off his helmet and showed his face. 免胄示之(面) 'my face was swollen' (面)腫
Sui Tang jia hua=STJH	fair browed as is a beautiful woman [白額](美)[婦人]	he wore a false face [著假(面)]
JTS	with a handsome face (面)(美)	he usually wore a false face [常著假(面)]
JFJ	in appearance like a woman (貌)[若婦人]	believing himself inadequately equipped to overawe the enemy he therefore carved wood to make a false face [自嫌不足威敵乃刻木爲假(面)]
TD	his appearance was attractive *or* he was handsome [(貌)(美)]	he usually wore a false face [常著假(面)]
YFZL	because his facial expression did not inspire dread 以其[顏](貌)[無威]	whenever he went into battle, he then put on a face-tool [每入陣卽著(面)具]

That *TD* based its text on *JTS*,[45] or at least on the same source as *JTS*, seems probable, and would be in accordance with the known close relationship between the two compilations. Whether *STJH* or *JFJ* first hit upon the comparison with a woman would seem to be decided, in favour of *JFJ*, by the amplified qualification of the comparison in *STJH*. Nevertheless, as stated (p. 4), *TSJC* seems to have favoured *STJH* as a source, rather than any other from the Tang dynasty (with the exception of *BS* itself). *YFZL* perhaps echoes *JFJ*.

Even today the legend of the King of Lanling continues to grow; *The Armour Book* in *Honchō-gunkikō*[46] 本朝軍記考 reports (without citing any authority) that *Ranryō-ō* wore an iron mask!

[43] 'The record of Cui Lingqin of Tang', p. 2, *JFJ*, p. 34.

[44] The first emperor of the Qi dynasty.

[45] The complete *TD* entry, cited by *JCYR*, will be found on p. 13.

[46] By Arai Hakuseki (translated by Y. Ōtsuka; edited by H. Russell Robinson; Tuttle, 1964, Rutland (Vermont), Tokyo (Japan). The original was published in 1850.

The article called a Dragon-Head Helmet supposedly originated in the Eight-Dragon Helmet worn by Lord Hachiman in the time of the Latter Three-Years' War. (This article, namely, was the Dragon-Head Helmet worn by *Gijō* in Hōgen [reign-period: 1156–8]. Details in a note in the second volume on armour.) The one known as Lanling wang of Chi wore an iron mask when below Jinyong City he attacked and captured it. This was the origin of using an iron mask with armour and helmet. Contemporaries made the attack and victory of this king with music into a dance. Later its music was transmitted to this country. Today still the music of *Ryō-ō* is played. On the forehead of its mask a golden dragon is made.

龍頭ノ冑トイフ物。後三年ノ戰ノ日。ハ幡殿ノツクラシシハ龍ノ冑ニヤ始リヌラン保シノ時義朝ノ着ラレシ竜頭ノ冑スナハチ此物也。詳ナル事ハ。鎧ノ下ニ注シタリ。昔齊ノ蘭陵王ト申セシガ。鉄ノ面具ヲカウフリテ。　金墉城下ニ敵ヲウチヤブリ給ヒシ吏。甲冑ニ鉄一面一具ヲ用フル始也キ。時人此王ノ敵ヤブリ給ヒシアリサーヲ楽ガクニ作リテ。舞フ。本朝ニモ。其楽ハ傳ハレリケリ。　今モ奏スル陵王ノ楽コレ也。　其ノ面ノ額上ニ。　金竜ヲ作ラレタリ。〔巻ノ下〕

The piece in Japanese sources

(a) Turkic, Buddhist, and Islamic, influences in the song-texts

Both *JCYR* and *KKS* reveal an aspect of the *Ryō-ō* tradition as yet untouched in this account; that is: the survival of song-texts (perhaps less misleadingly 'chant-texts') which include references to foreigners. If the foreigners in question were non-Chinese neighbours of the State of Qi they can only have been a Turkic people. The preface to *Ryō-ō* in *JCYR* (p. 12) includes ten lines, each with four monosyllabic words to the line, of which eight are rhyming couplets.

Eckardt[47] comments with approval on Fu Yunzi's recognition[48] of the fact that the song-texts – the *saezuri/zhuan* 囀 – include elements evidently compatible with the historical circumstances of the original King-of-Lanling episode. The long preservation of these texts (p. 7), no longer used in Chikazane's day (*KKS*, p. 18), perhaps implies recognition by the Japanese of their intimate relationship with the original Chinese piece. Particularly illuminating is Eckardt's observation that these obscure, even mysterious, texts, give a first impression of being 'interjections in Hunnish Chinese' (*Einwürfe in hunnischem, d.h. hu-barbarischem Chinesisch zu sein.*). It is important to remember that, in the sixth century, and for the Chinese of Northern Qi, the *Hu* 胡 were not Sogdians – as they were for Tang Chinese of the seventh century – but Turkic tribes of the *Tujue* 突厥. It will be convenient to examine now the content of these verses, removing them from context in *JCYR* and *KKS* (Sino-Japanese text, p. 12).

JCYR:
We Turkic lads!
Vomiting anger like thunder!
We snatch thunder on the mountain top
Tread stones as mud.
On the right we get warrior's strength;
On the left we get whip's whirling.
The sun's brilliance dies in the West
And in the East likewise the moon [rises]
With dance and music we go beating.
Following, following, a long piece.

KKS gives three versions of the song-text:

(1) We punish the Turks!
In olden times we saw Tathāgata,[49]
Of our country the Protector,
Turn back the sun, making happiness.

(2) We Turks
Sanctioned the return of happiness to the city.
Stones in treading are like mud.

(3) The Turkic youth Ali,
Vomiting anger like thunder!
We snatch thunder on the mountain top,
Tread stones like mud.

(Fu Yunzi[48] records two more variants.) Without examining other such material, it is already evident that one element is common to all four versions: the reference to foreigners who, in this context, must be a Turkic people. In one version only are the foreigners the defeated; in three, the foreigners are heroic beings of giant-like attributes, treading stones as mud – presumably, reducing stones to mud in the fierce stamping of the dance. In one version, a Turkic youth is given an Islamic name: Ali.

None of this sounds like the King of Lanling; but it sounds not unlike the fearsomely wild dancing of the Huns that made such an impression on the Chinese, so that 'stamping songs' *tage* 踏歌 were imitated, and even (as suggested by Eide, 1983)[50] used by Chinese to send off a friend, as reported by Li Bo in a quatrain (Kyōto Index No. 0410) (Eide, 1983, p. 18).

KKS's first song-text (1) is reputedly from Owari no Hamanushi 尾張濱主 (*c.* 733–848?; said to have visited China in 835, returning in 839); (2) is from Koma no Mitsunori 狛光則 (1069–1136; 'used in those days'); and (3) is from Koma no Mitsuchika 狛光近 (1118–82).

The beneficial aspect of 'stamping songs' might derive (as Eide suggests) 'from some nomadic funeral practice that involved singing a lamentation while ritually stamping the ground to obliterate a grave.' Such stamping would not only

[47] Hans Eckardt, *Ryō-ō*, in *Sinologica*, III (1952), pp. 110–28, Basel.

[48] Fu, Yunzi 傅芸子 *Wuyue Lanling-wang kao* 舞樂蘭陵王考, *Tōhōgakuhō* 東方学報, *10* (1940), pp. 85–93, Kyōto.

[49] *Nyorai/Rulai* 如來 'Thus Come' – the highest of the Buddha's titles; the 'thus come' one who has attained enlightenment.

[50] Elling O. Eide, 'Li Po's riddle naming Cloud-Ritual Hsü in relation to the Feng Sacrifice of 742 and the Great Heavenly Treasure scandal to which is appended a note on the Stamping Songs and a Sino-Turkish name for the Huns', in *T'ang Studies, Number One*, (1983), pp. 8–20, Wisconsin. See also: Jones, Stephen and Picken, Laurence: 'Tunes of T'ang date for the "Get treasure song"? in *T'ang Studies, Number Five* (1987), pp. 33–44, Wisconsin.

do this, however; it might be held to prevent the dead from walking.

The *JCYR*-version (p. 12), amounting to ten four-syllable lines, includes a reference to whirling whips, and this suggests that the performance of *Ryō-ō* was certainly apotropaeic when this line was composed, since the whip is an implement for driving away demons – as Eckardt (1952, p. 127) noted; moreover, the cracking of a whip imitates a thunderclap. The whip was certainly a dance-property in the 'Masking' (*Daimian* 代面) piece, known to *YFZL*, where, as stated, those performing this spectacle held whips (p. 5). This suggests that, in the Chinese environment, and certainly by Tang times, the piece had developed in a manner far removed from the historic incident, though not necessarily far from a 'Masking' known already to *STJH*, *JTS*, and *JFJ*, by the middle of the eighth century.

Eckardt accepts the song-text of Owari no Hamanushi (who danced for Emperor Nimmyō at the age of 113) as the oldest version – it certainly is the oldest version preserved in *KKS*; but one might argue that the longest version, preserved in *JCYR*, is more likely to be this. Since Owari visited China in the first half of the ninth century, he would have been in a position to acquire the latest Tang version of *Lanling wang ruzhen qu* – the historic episode lay almost two centuries in the past by that time. The reference, in his text, to the Buddha as Tathāgata implies, perhaps, that protection exerted by the Buddha had displaced an original apotropaeic action by whips.

(b) The Dragon-King

The 'turning back of the sun' in Hamanushi's version is not explicable in terms of the song-text alone, but becomes understandable in the light of a passage in *KKS* (p. 17) that follows a statement (taken from an otherwise unknown 'Lotus-way score' *Rendō-fu* 蓮道譜) that the piece was transmitted, by the Priest Buttetsu, to the Tōshōdaiji Temple in Nara.[51]

There was a king in China. While the king of a neighbouring country was fighting him, that king [the emperor, the king of China] died. His son then taking the throne, still the dispute continued, and the royal son, going to the king's grave-mound, made lamentation. Suddenly there was a voice within the grave, there came thunder and lightning, saying 'All will be well! Thou hast no cause to lament'. Then was revealed this apparition [and it] proceeded towards the field of battle. (The emperor's dragon-countenance was beautiful; his beard no less so.) The sun having reached almost the point of setting, and the battle like to fail, thereupon the father-king's soul flying up, summoned the sun. In consequence, the sky became blue (the end of the noon period 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.), and now battle was rejoined. As anticipated, the country was retaken. Now the people, all coming together, made a song and dance about this; the title was: 'Music of the setting sun returning to noon.' Although there is no authoritative documentary evidence for this, it is a tradition from older persons.'

脂那 国〔ニ〕一人王アリ。トナリノ国ノ王ト天子ヲアラソヒケル間ニ、彼王崩畢。其子即位シテ、ナヲアラソヒヤマザリケレバ、太子王ノ陵ニ向ヒ給テ、 ナゲキ申サレ給ヒケレバ、 忽墓内コエアリ、雷電シテ占子王云ク、「汝ナゲクコトナカレ」トテ、則現此形赴戦陣(竜顔美鬚髯不異)。日スデニクレニヲヨビテ、戦ヤブレヌベシ。爰父王飛神魂日ヲ掻。仍蒼天(午時成了)。サテ合戦。如思国ヲウチトリテケリ。 サテ世コゾリテ、コレヲ歌舞ス。 名『没日還午楽』。雖無本文、自古者伝也。

In addition to the 'turning back the sun' theme, there is in this passage a new phenomenon: the dead father's voice coming from the grave-mound. May this not have arisen from an attempt to give meaning to the abbreviated title *Ryō-ō*: 'The King of the Grave-Mound'? The place name, Lanling, most probably means 'The tumulus where orchids grow'. A number of orchid genera are referred to as *lanhua* 蘭花, and the family Orchidaceae itself is characterised as the class of *lan* (though the word also occurs in the compound names of other genera.) By itself, *lan* suggests an orchid, and a fragrant orchid at that.

The in-text note relating to the emperor's 'dragon-countenance' may have been no more than an honorific – as used in Chinese, but it may also have acquired weight since this same word *ryō* is *one* Sino-Japanese reading of 'dragon' *ryō/long* 龍. Did this meaning come to influence the construction of the typical *Ryō-ō* mask? The beard-reference is also important in relation to one of the characteristic movements of the dance (see later, p. 32): 'beard-grasping gesture' *higetoru-te* 鬚取手.

The Buddha's turning back the sun, in Owari no Hamanushi's version of the song-text, suggests that the apotropaeic character of the piece, acquired (apparently) in the interval between Northern Qi and Tang, was given a religious, rather than a magical, surface, in the Japanese context, by explaining the original victory – still remembered, though the *gestures* of the King of Lanling had presumably been replaced by the whip as demonifuge – as due, not to a valiant warrior, but to miraculous intervention by the Buddha.

The sun-returning-action itself was seen by Eckardt as an accomplishment appropriate to a dragon-king; but it is perhaps rather stretching the acknowledged weather-control exerted by such beings to suggest that Buddha's intervention has evolved from the original action of a dragon-king.

In one respect Eckardt was mistaken in his reading of *KKS*. It is not the case that the early *TD*-account of 'Masking' ends with a suggestion of beneficial, magical action, following upon a performance of *Ryō-ō*. For once, *KKS* does not *quote TD*, but translates the *TD*-text into Japanese; and the suggestion of auspicious consequences does not come from the *TD*-text but from Koma no Chikazane. The passage in *KKS* ends: 'When this is played, the realm is at peace, the country, fruitful.' *Kore o mote-asobu-ni tenka taihei kokudo yutaka nari* コレヲモテアソブニ、天下泰平国土ユタカ也。

(c) The costume and its significance: 'Dragon-King' or 'King of the Grave-Mound'

From the Chinese sources – for example, *JFJ* and *TD* – it is

[51] For the question of historicity, and of Buttetsu, see Fascicle 3, p. 31, and Fascicle 4, p. 66.

clear that the 'King of Lanling piece' was a masked spectacle during the eighth century; indeed, if the prefatory note in *TD* (p. 13), should in truth imply a date for 'Masking' anterior to 581, the piece may already have come to be this within a generation of Changgong's victory.

In *YFZL* it is recorded that 'the clothes of the performers were purple in colour and their waist-bands were golden' *Xizhe yi ci yao jin* 戲者衣紫腰金. However, from the Eye-Opening Ceremony at the Tōdaiji in 752, the surviving cummerbund or sash (*setsuyō* 接腰) is of red brocade lined with white pongee-silk, and is authenticated by an inscription on the item itself: 'Sash for Raryō-ō, old Tang music, Tō [dai] ji, ninth day, fourth month, fourth year of *Tempyō-shōhō* [752]東寺唐古樂羅陵王接腰天平勝寶四年四月九日. (See Matsushima, Yorimasa, p. 3)

The nature of the present costume for *Ryō-ō* was examined by Fu Yunzi (1940, p. 94/552). The most striking element, the single-piece, seamless, side-less, fringed garment that hangs down behind and before, with a central aperture for the head and neck, is the *ryōtō/liangdang* 裲襠, part of Chinese dress during the Six-Dynasties, between Han and Sui (Emperor Wu to Emperor Chen – say, 220–587). Beneath are worn Tang, bell-bottomed trousers, gathered in round the ankles (*dakou ku* 大口褲). Together, the two garments constitute a kind of Tang official dress, even though the *ryōtō* is believed to have arisen among the *Hu* – among Turkic peoples, for example. The fringed edge of this garment is a reminiscence of the unshorn fleece at the edge of a sheep-skin, turned into an over-garment by cutting a central hole and applying a girdle round the waist. The outer-robe-with-train, too, another component (*hō/pao* 袍) of the costume, was worn by Tang officials in their off-duty dress. It is to be noted that the modern costume is held in at the waist, not by a cummerbund or sash but, by a heavy, tasselled cord; the colour is red, however, as is the brocade sash from 752.

As a costume-element, the *ryōtō* occurs in other *Bugaku*-pieces: 'Sogdians Drinking Wine' (Fascicle 4, p. 1); 'Returning to the City' *Genjōraku* 還城樂; *Batō* 抜頭, and *Nasori* 納曽利, for example; so that this link with an ancient non-Chinese costume cannot, of itself, be regarded as pointing to an origin for the piece, as now performed, outside China.

The mask worn by the *Ryō-ō* dancer today is peculiar to the piece. Unlike any other known mask in the *Bugaku* repertory, a dragonlet crouches on the brow: jaws agape, with crested cranium, upper-arms winged. A fragment of a mask, labelled *Raryō-ō*, and dated 752, survives in the Shōsō-in, Nara (Eckardt, 1952, p. 110), but whether its construction shows that it was from a mask such as is used today is not stated. *KKS* (1, p. 17) records the existence of *two kinds* of masks (面ニ有二様) for *Ryō-ō*; and the oldest surviving mask (not earlier than 1211 – Eckardt, 1952, p. 118) is approximately of the generation that saw the compilation of *KKS*. What that work has to say about the two kinds of mask is important. In *first* place the text refers to 'one of the kind used in the Martial Division, with black eyebrows'. A following parenthesis notes that this mask is used when the 'Wild *Prelude*' *Kōjo/Huangxu* 荒序 (p. 17) is danced, in the 'Eight Cardinal Points' manner 黒眉八方荒序之時用之. The *second* kind of mask mentioned is that worn by Changgong – 者長恭仮面様. A note adds: 'Called the Small Mask. It is a Treasured Item in the inheritance of Mitsusue's family.' 小面云、光季家相伝宝物也 [Koma no Mitsusue: 1025–1112] Neither type is stated to carry the small dragon on the forehead, illustrated by Eckardt (1952, Figure 1, facing p. 112), and by Fu Yunzi (1940, Plate 1); but a further passage from *KKS* (to be considered later) suggests that this type of mask was indeed known at least a century earlier than the compilation of *KKS*.

Eckardt urged that the mask is an important ground for regarding *Ryō-ō* as a dragon-king dance, a dance transformed from an original Chinese, martial, victory-dance, under the impact of influences stemming from Central Asia, and ultimately from India. He notes, very properly, the early association of the piece with *Rin'yū* music (Fascicle 3, p. 31) and with the perhaps legendary Buttetsu; but in view of the evident transformation of the dance in China, prior to transmission to Japan, may it not be that the typical *Ryō-ō* mask, in use today, is simply a complex icon, assembled under the influence of two recognisable factors: (1) the early tradition of the alternative title for the piece 'Masking (*Daimian* or *Damian*) and (2) the 'dragon' interpretation of the *ryō* (grave-mound) sound?

We suggest that, already in China, at least by the early eighth century, and possibly already in the late sixth century, the dance associated with 'The Piece: The King of Lanling Penetrates the Formation' had ceased to be a martial dance, characterized by dance-properties and body-movements appropriate for victorious troops; it had – in a sense – reverted to being an archaic type of apotropaeic dance, with a demon-expelling whip as the dance-property, and a mask – a mask assumed the more readily in response to ancient Chinese custom in apotropaeic ceremonies, and legitimized by inversion of the original historical content of the occasion, a revelation of the face being transmuted into concealment of the face by a mask, with the assumption of a new, and magically potent persona.

It is difficult to accept that any Chinese *scholar* truly believed that Changgong originated masks in the sixth century, since any scholar will have been aware of the tradition of 'Mr Big-Face' *Damian shi* 大面氏 (the masked shaman) and of the apotropaeic *Nuo* 儺 ceremony, with animal-guisers expelling the demons of disease – well documented in records of the Zhou dynasty. The pseudo-history of the origin of 'Masking' *Damian*, *Daimian* with The King of Lanling was a pleasing fable, a pleasant item of fanciful nonsense.

Reverting to the matter of the mask used for *Ryō-ō* today, and at least since the early thirteenth century: although in its reference to two kinds of mask, *KKS* does not specify the presence of the intriguing dragonlet on the forehead – a type of mask not used elsewhere in *Bugaku*-costume or known to Chinese iconography – *KKS* nevertheless reveals, in passing, the presence of a dragonlet on the mask, both in the time of

Koma no Chikazane and at least a century earlier. The reference occurs in one of two passages to which Eckardt attached great importance, believing that they substantiated his view of the dragon-king nature of the dancer in *Ryō-ō*.

Eckardt was impressed by the term 'living *Ryō-ō*' applied to a ghostly apparition, dancing to the playing of the *Ryō-ō* melody on the flute (the passage will be translated entire later.) What is here criticised is his conclusion that the author of *KKS*, in his description of this occasion, renounces any reminiscence of the victory of the King of Lanling, Changgong, when a 'real' *Ryō-ō* appears; and Eckardt adds the identification: 'a Nāgarāja'. But there are no grounds for making this identification. The 'living *Ryō-ō*' is *iki Ryō-ō* 生陵王 'a living King of the Grave-Mound'– there is no substitution of 'dragon' for 'tumulus', to form 'a living dragon-king'. Moreover, precisely the same term 'living *Ryō-ō*' is used elsewhere in *KKS* (1, p. 18), in another anecdote, where it is applied to a particular *Ryō-ō dancer.*

Since this latter passage is that in which reference to the dragonlet is made, it will be convenient to translate this first.

An old report states: the supreme *Ryō-ō*-dance was that of the dancer named Ōtomo no Narimichi, Horse-Official of the Left. People of that time exclaimed, calling him 'a living *Ryō-ō*'. He was a pupil of Ōtomo no Nobuyoshi.

Regarding the aforementioned (Narimichi): when, leaving the capital he went to the Kantō-area, he regularly danced at the *Kashima*-Shrine in the Hitachi-domain. An elderly gentleman, a Government Clerk of that place, having seen the manner of this dance said: 'Old man that I am, this is the first time that I've seen *Ryō-ō*. However, according to the story, the *Ryō-ō* at one leap covers a thousand *ri* [=2440 miles]; stones, when he stamps, are reduced to mud; when it streams out, his breath is like thunder. [The old man is paraphrasing the words of the song-text preserved by *JCYR*; see p. 6.] How lacking in vigour: the gestures of "beard-grasping", and the "dragon-fly turning", of today's *Ryō-ō*! The dragonlet on the forehead [of the mask], is it not just there to be seen [– an empty symbol]? What an exaggeration, indeed, to call this "a living *Ryō-ō*"!' So saying, laughing with scorn, he departed.

古説曰、左馬属大友成道ト云ケル舞人ノ、究竟陵王舞也。時ノ人、生陵王トナム申ケル。大友信正第子也。件舞人成道、関東ヘ下向ノ時、常陸国鹿嶋宮ニシテ『陵王』舞ケル。夫国〔ノ〕書生ナリケル翁、此舞ヲ見申ケル様、「ヲキナ『陵王』ヲミル事コレ始也。但物語ニシツタヘテ侍ハ、『陵王」ハー躍ニ千里ヲカケリ、石踏バ泥如ナリ、吐気雷如タリ。小竜ヲヒタヒノシハニ、タタミトドメナントスル物ニテコソ侍ルナルニ、今ノ『陵王』ハ蜻蛉返、ヒゲ取手、コトノホカニヌルクミユ物カナ。生陵王トコソ申ナルニ、コトノホカニモ侍物カナ」トテ、アザワラヒテ立タリケル。 (*KKS* 1, p. 18)

The second passage to which Eckardt attached particular importance, believing it to demonstrate that the being, represented by the dancer of *Ryō-ō*, was indeed a dragon-king – a *nagaraja* – may be translated as follows:

In the eleventh month of Kyūju 2 [1155], about the mid-decade [eleventh to nineteenth of the month], the Kyōgoku Prime Minister [Kyōgoku = a district of Kyōto] (while he, Fujiwara no Munesuke, was a Court Official) left the Imperial Palace at about midnight, and his carriage was travelling towards the East of the *Nakamikado* [a main street]. In the moon's mounting clarity, his heart, too, being purified, he reflected with pleasure. Playing *Ryō-ō* on his flute, slowly he travelled on. At the corner of the Central Gateway (the *Tōdō-in*) there is a [*Shintō*] shrine. Out from that shrine a [strange] Thing comes; in front of the carriage it danced. Although he thought it mysterious, on his continuing to play the flute, quickly it became the dance of 'a living Ryō-ō'. (It was seen to be about three feet tall.)

久寿二年十一月中旬之比、京極大相国宗輔殿上人時、 内裏ヨリ子剋許ニ退出アリケルニ、 中御門ノ東〔ヘ〕御車ヲヤラセテオハシマシケル。 月コトニサヘノボリテ、御心モスミテ、オモシロクオボシメサレケル。 御笛ニ『陵王』ヲアソバシテ、ユルユルトヤラセテオハシマシケルニ、中御門東洞院角ニ社アリ。 其ノ社ヨリ物出来テ車前ニ舞ケリ。アヤシクオボシナガラ、御笛ヲアソバシケルハ、早ク生陵王ノ舞ナリケリ。高三尺許ト見。 (*KKS* 1, p, 23)

There is no *nagaraja* here. The version of this anecdote in *Kokonchomonjū* (Eckardt, 1956, p. 99, paragraph 38.) records that the apparition appeared at the playing of the *Ryō-ō Ranjō*; but the expression 'living *Ryō-ō*' is not used.

(d) The Ryō-ō tradition in Japan, according to Owari no Hamanushi, as recorded in KKS

The high regard in which traditions, stemming from Owari no Hamanushi, were held, by Koma no Chikazane when compiling *KKS*'s account of *Ryō-ō*, is evident at a number of points (p. 6). Of major historical importance is a statement regarding the use of a whip as dance-property; for if this statement indeed derives from Owari (who died in 848), he had this knowledge perhaps fifty years before it was recorded by Duan Anjie in *YFZL*. The passage in question (*KKS*, 1, p. 24) relates: 'Hamanushi's tradition states that, at the time of 'The King of Lanling Penetrates the Formation', the drumstick [or baton] of *Ryō-ō* [the implement used to this day] was in the form of a whip.' 浜主傳ニ曰久陵王ノ桴ハ蘭陵王入陣曲ノ時鞭ノ姿也。

It is surely remarkable that the title of the piece is given in its extended, original, Chinese form (but for the omission of 'piece'); and it is plain that Hamanushi knew of an early manner of Chinese performance with a whip. *KKS* continues:

After having been transmitted to our court, in the period *Tempyō-shōhō* [749–56], in the honourable time of Takano-Tennō, and by Imperial Decree, the ancient records of the said piece were subjected to change. There were new regulations in respect of five items. The first item: That the baton be subjected to shortening to a length of one *shaku* two *sun* [that is, to a length of *c.* 364 mm].

而ヲ渡我朝之後、天平勝宝之比、高野天皇御時ニ、 以勅定被改当曲之古記。五箇ノ新制之内也。一者桴ヲ被縮一尺二寸。

From the sash preserved in the *Shōsō-in* (p. 8), already discussed, it is known that the piece was performed at the First Eye-Opening Ceremony at the Tōdaiji in 752, and (anticipating the contents of the preface in *JCYR*, p. 12) a somewhat earlier date for the latest possible date of introduction of the piece to the Japanese Court may be inferred from the fact that Empress Kōken (daughter of Emperor Shōmu, who reigned 724–49), who herself reigned (as *Takano-Tennō*) from 749 to 758, is said to have delighted in this piece (p. 12). The earliest date of introduction may then lie anterior to 724. That the piece continued in her esteem when Empress Kōken returned to the throne as

Shōtoku-Tennō (reigned 765–9) is also attested by *RMS* (below). This all implies that the piece was practised in Japan, in mid-eighth century, with a baton replacing a whip (in all probability), fifty years before *TD*, in China, again recorded what appear to be the actions of a martial dance, imitating Changgong's prowess in battle. It is to be noted that Owari's visit to Tang occurred almost a century after the performance of the piece at the *Tōdaiji* in 752, so that his knowledge of the history of the piece in China could not have influenced Japanese performance in the early eighth century.

Summarising this history then, it is certain that the title *Ryō-ō* derives from the Chinese title, *Lanling wang ruzhen qu*, in reference to an historical event in the year 564 (*Beishi*; p. 2). At an early date, the song-and-dance spectacle associated with this title had become a masked dance, imitating 'the bearing' of the King of Lanling when 'signalling, striking, piercing, and slashing' (*STJH*; p. 4). By the second third of the eighth century, the piece was known in Japan as a masked dance, with a baton substituting for a whip. It is remarkable that reference to the use of a whip should first appear in a *Japanese* source.

The *scenario*

As it survives, as a *Tōgaku* item today, *Ryō-ō* consists of a single movement, classed as an Entering Broaching *Juha/Rupo* 入破; but *KKS* (1, 17) makes the important statement that this item (*Ryō-ō*) is 'to be known as, or is admissible as' a Large Piece: *tsū Taikyoku/tong Daqu* 通大曲. It is plain, from *RMS*, that while the *structure* of *Ryō-ō* bears no resemblance to any other Large Piece, its *performance* was an event of considerable complexity and extent, up to, and during, the first third of the twelfth century; and this is fully confirmed by the preface to the piece in *JCYR* (p. 12). At the Kasuga Shrine in Nara, it still is so today (E.J.M.).

In *RMS*, and in the early thirteenth-century *KKS*, glimpses are vouchsafed of a quite extraordinary *scenario*, violent in atmosphere, and seemingly closely related to the violence of the song-text(s) preserved by *JCYR* and *KKS*. This *scenario* appears to accomplish the translation of an original Stamping Dance, reflecting Turkic practice, into a cosmically oriented, apotropaeic ceremony that, in its original condition, and in the Chinese environment, was executed by whip-bearers.

The sequence of items through the *scenario* is remarkable in that it stipulates three different kinds of Prelude, beginning with the *New Music Free-Tune* (or *Free-Prelude*). As already indicated (p. 9), it is notable that the *Free-Tune*, specified as preceding performance, is a *New Music Free-Tune* and not – as might have been expected in the light of *KKS*'s reported association of *Ryō-ō* with the Champa Music *Rin'yū gaku* (p. 8) – the *Champa Music Free-Tune*. In this context, the *Free-Tune* was evidently danced to, and the dance included a number of movements and gestures, specified by terms not normally occurring (not even in *KKS*, 7, 134, No. **2**) in the list of dance-score terms that originated (it is claimed) with Koma no Mitsutoki (1087–1159). *RMS* continues the sequence of items with the statement: 'There is a thing called the *True Prelude 'Shinjo to iu koto ari* 眞序といふことあり (Eckardt's *auch* (also) is his insertion.) Elsewhere, however, this title is written *Angry Prelude* 嗔序 (also read *Shinjo*) and in the context of this 'raging' piece, it seems likely that this is the correct form of the title of the second Prelude. *RMS* adds: 'When I enquired of a certain person, he answered that it is danced, briefly, after the chant.' あるひとにたづねしかば。さえづりのゝちすこしまうをいふとぞ申候。

Again, a particular and specific dance-gesture is used during this prelude (see later, p. 31).

A new heading in *RMS* signals the *Wild Prelude* (*Kōjo* 荒序). 'Before this *Wild Prelude*, however, notes-grasping [=play a *netori*]. First *shō*; next *hichiriki*; next *teki*; each beginning following closely, one after the other'. この荒序せんとてはこゑをとる。まづ笙。つぎにひちりき。つぎに笛。おゝすがひにはじめ。 In this instance, therefore, a *netori* is played *after* two specified movements, intrinsic to a *Ryō-ō* performance, have been played. (It is of interest that *RMS* uses a slightly different term for *netori*, namely *koeotoru* こゑをとる.)

In relation to the *Wild Prelude*, *RMS* gives information as to the manner of performance, to be examined in more detail later (p. 32), but clearly showing that it was a fast piece in eight drum-beat periods, and danced successively to the four cardinal points, starting from the North and proceeding to the West: 'two times to each of the four quarters, danced one after the other'. 四方に二反づづまうなり。

Following the *Wild Prelude*, the Broaching is to be played without 'notes-grasping'. According to *RMS*, this should be played twice: but an old score marks three times. According to [Koma no] Mitsunori (1069–1136), however, only two times should be performed. The association of performances of *Ryō-ō* with horse-racing and wrestling (see *RMS* and *KKS*) is compatible with the impression of a strikingly energetic *scenario*, which emerges from both these sources.

Tabular survey of versions of the *scenario*

The Table sets out the various versions of the *scenario* as recorded in (1) *RMS* and *KKS*, and (2) in the preface to *Ryō-ō* in *JCYR*, according to (i) Nangū (Sadayasu *Shinnō*: 870–924), (ii) Chōshūkyō (Minamoto no Hiromasa, Hakuga: 919–80), as reported by Fujiwara no Moronaga (1137–92), together with (iii) his own summary of the practice of his day ('Nowadays'). Alongside this synoptic view are shown the various musical items from the *scenario* that survive in tablature in the various musical sources. The fact that some of these exist today, though modified, among Shiba's transcriptions (see later), adds weight to the view that they are authentic survivals from the *scenario* known to Minamoto no Hiromasa in the tenth century. (Circled numbers show serial order of the items in tablature as set out in the *scenario* in heavily outlined boxes.)

RMS + *KKS*	*JCYR*: Preface Nangū	*JCYR*: Preface Chōshūkyō	*JCYR*: Preface 'Nowadays'	*SGYR*	*KF/HSFRK*: Preface & Score	*SSSTF*	*RTHKF*	*CORYF & RTYF*
New Music Free Tune or Free Prelude	Free Prelude	Free Prelude (danced)	BLOW New Music Free Tune or Free Prelude		(Free Tune) (Free Prelude) (no Shō)			*c.* 1320, 1587, 1688 Free Prelude 1674 Free Tune ①
	Chant×7	Chant×3	Chant					
Angry Prelude	Free Prelude= Angry Prelude	Free Prelude	Free Prelude					
Netori						② *Netori*		
		③ Modal Prelude (quoted)	Modal Prelude (briefly)					
Wild Prelude	Wild Prelude	Wild Prelude	Wild Prelude (8 Sections)	④ Wild Prelude	(Wild Prelude)		④ Wild Prelude	④ Wild Prelude 1674, 1688
Broaching	Entering Broaching	Broaching ×2	PLAY Broaching ×2 (or×1)	⑤ Entering Broaching	⑤ Entering Broaching	⑤ Broaching		⑤ Entering Broaching
Amma	*Amma* in place of Modal Prelude	*Amma*	*Amma*					⑥ *Amma*

Prefaces to the piece from the sources in tablature

KF/HSFRK

Ra-ryō-ō: Old music. First the *Free-Tune*. Next the *Free-Prelude* (except that the mouth-organ is not played). Next the *Wild Prelude*. Eight periods. Entering Broaching. There is a dance.
羅陵王。古樂。初乱聲。次乱序。但不吹笙。次荒序。八切。入破。有舞。

SSSTF

Ryō-ō: Of drum-beats 16. *Netori* [that is, a brief display of the notes of the mode] [The transcription is on p. 15]
陵王　拍子十六　音取

JCYR

Ryō-ō: one name is *Ra-ryō-ō* ●陵王　一`名羅陵王
Free-Prelude in one Section. The number of times not being fixed, play following the dance.
乱序一帖度數无定隨舞吹

Next the chant which says: 次囀云

We are Turkic lads!	我等胡倪
Vomiting anger like thunder!	吐氣如雷
We snatch thunder on the mountain top,	我採頂雷
Tread stones as mud.	踏石如泥
On the right we get warrior's strength,	右得士力
On the left we get whip's whirling.	左得鞭廻
The sun's brilliance dies in the West	日光西没
And in the East likewise the moon [rises].	東面若月
With dance and music we go beating.	舞樂打去
Following one after the other![52] A long piece!	録録長曲

Wild Prelude: Eight Sections; each with one beat; in all, of beats, eight.
荒序　八帖　拍子各一　合拍子八

Broaching: of drum-beats, 16; should be played twice.
破`拍子十六可彈二反

In all, 32 drum-beats; in the last Section, add drum-beats.
合`拍子三十二　終帖加拍子

When the dancers retire play *Amma*
舞入時吹安摩

[Up to this point, the text represents Moronaga's summary of contemporary practice.]
Nangū's *Transverse-Flute Score* states: First play the *Free-Prelude*.[53]
南`宮横笛譜云初吹乱序

Next the chant[54] [or song]; seven times 次囀七度.

Next again play[55] [the previous] *Free-Prelude* 次又吹乱序,

nowadays[56] known as the *Angry Prelude*. 世号噴序シンジョ

Next, play the *Wild Prelude*. 次吹荒序

Next, the Entering Broaching should be played four times.
次入破可吹四反

Of drum-beats 16; in all, drum-beats 72 [=8 (*Wild Prelude*)+64 (Broaching)]. 拍子十六合拍子七十二

Free-Prelude and[57] *Angry Prelude* (taking these as the same thing) are played.
乱序并[57] 噴序以同吹

Furthermore, when retiring-time comes round, play for this[58] with *Amma*.
又還入時以安摩吹此[58]

About this, I have no opinion.
无所見

But Owari no Hamanushi states:[59] Takanō-Tennō,[60] for instance, liked this piece, therefore where previously, on visiting a temple,[61] when retiring the *Sada-chō* Modal Prelude had been played, for retiring, [then] by Imperial Decree, *Amma* was made to be the tune to which to retire.
但尾張賓主云高野天皇例好此曲仍奏御前還入時又吹沙陁調入有勅以安摩爲入音聲

This, indeed, is what was transmitted by those of earlier generations.
此古老所傳也

[Here ends the citation from Prince Sadayasu, as defined by *RSCY*]

[52] This interpretation is based on the 'series, order' meaning, noted by Karlgren (p. 311) in Kuoyü. Conceivably the binome stands for an ululatory cry: 'Lu, lu!. . .', such as that used in the invocation of Marshal Tian (Picken, 1975; p. 600).

[53] In the version of the preface in *RSCY*, Prince Sadayasu's title of *Ribu-ō* (Fascicle 3, p. 11) is used rather than *Nangū*. The flute-score is given the title '*Ribu-ō*'s Dragon-Flute Score', and, down to the reference to Hakuga's score (*Chōshūkyō ōteki-fu*), the preface is set out in such a way as to imply that between *Ribu-ō*. . . and *Chōshūkyō*. . . the entire passage is a quotation from Prince Sadayasu's vanished work. While it is indeed the case that the title: '*Chōshūkyō*' heads a new section of the *JCYR*-text, the marking of each separate sentence with an oblique stroke beside its first lexigraph: 口`, could lead to uncertainty, in reading *JCYR*, about the extent of the citation from Prince Sadayasu's text, in the absence of the different format of *RSCY*.

Note that Moronaga and Hakuga (*Chōshūkyō*) both specify *Free-Prelude* (*Ranjo* 乱序) only, rather than *Free-Tune* 乱聲 and *Free-Prelude*, as specified by *KF/HSFRK*.

[54] Notwithstanding the use of the term *saezuri*, no song-melody is preserved; and a later statement suggests that the text was recited.

[55] Accepting the wording of *RSCY*: 次又吹; *JCYR* has 又次吹.

[56] This qualification is only present in *JCYR*.
Note *katakana* spelling of *shinjo*.

[57] *RSCY* omits 并.

[58] *RSCY* has 'it' 之.

[59] Note that this confirms the century-later statement in *KKS* (p. 9).

[60] A label in the Palace copy of *JCYR* notes: 'As to Empress Takano [as she became, on the abdication of Emperor Shōmu in 749; she was] Empress Kōken, Imperial Princess to Emperor Shōmu [724–49].
高野女帝ハ孝謙天皇ノ聖武之皇女

[61] The presence of the lexigraph 參 (in place of 奏) in *RSCY* suggests that the original text was not 仍奏御前 (*JCYR*), but 仍御詣前: 'therefore, where previously, on visiting the temple. . .', where *gomairi* means 'to visit a shrine or temple'.

Chōshūkyō's *Transverse-Flute Score* [that is, the score of Hakuga, Minamoto no Hiromasa] states: The above mentioned Broaching should be played four times, but nowadays this has been changed to playing twice.
長丶秋卿横笛譜云件破可吹四反而今改吹二反

As to the aforementioned dance, when the *Free-Prelude* dance is finished[62]
件舞乱序舞了[62]

next follows the chant, three times. But as to the chant, this was [recited] seven times but nowadays this is changed to three times. When the chant is finished, again quickly play the Free-Prelude.
次丶囃三度但囃是七度而今改三度囃了又早吹乱序

Next briefly play the Modal Prelude. The beginning is therefore entered [here].
次聊吹調子端仍記入

A transcription of this prelude-fragment is given on p. 15.

Next the *Wild Prelude*; next the Broaching, twice. Next, at the time of retiring, play *Amma*. When the playing is finished, blow the *roku*-hole [sound upper *D*]. This is the Master's opinion.
次丶荒序　次丶破二反　次丶入時吹安摩　吹丶了吹六孔[63]是師説也[64]
ノアナ

The division of the text, in *JCYR* and *RSCY*, strongly suggests that the flute-score of the beginning of the Modal Prelude is recorded with Hakuga as authority. It is also evident that the tradition of a sevenfold repeat of the chant was the only tradition of performance of the chant known to Prince Sadayasu, who was well acquainted with Empress Takanō-Tennō's affection for *Ryō-ō*, and her authorisation of the use of *Amma* on retiring.

Nowadays[65] first play the *New-Music Free-Tune*. Next play the *Free-Prelude*. Next the chant is recited.[66] Next again play the *Free-Prelude*. Next briefly play[67] the beginning of the Modal Prelude. Next play[68] the *Wild Prelude*'s eight Sections. Next play the Broaching twice. In the last Section add drum-beats.
今丶世先吹新樂乱聲　次丶吹乱序　次丶囃云[66]　次丶又吹乱序　次丶聊吹調子端　次彈荒序八帖　次彈[15]破二反　終帖加拍子

When abbreviating, play once, and from the ninth drum-beat [=measure] add drum-beats.
略丶時彈一反　従第九拍子加拍子

When the dancers retire, blow *Amma*. A middle-sized piece. Old music.
舞丶入時吹安摩　中丶曲　古丶樂

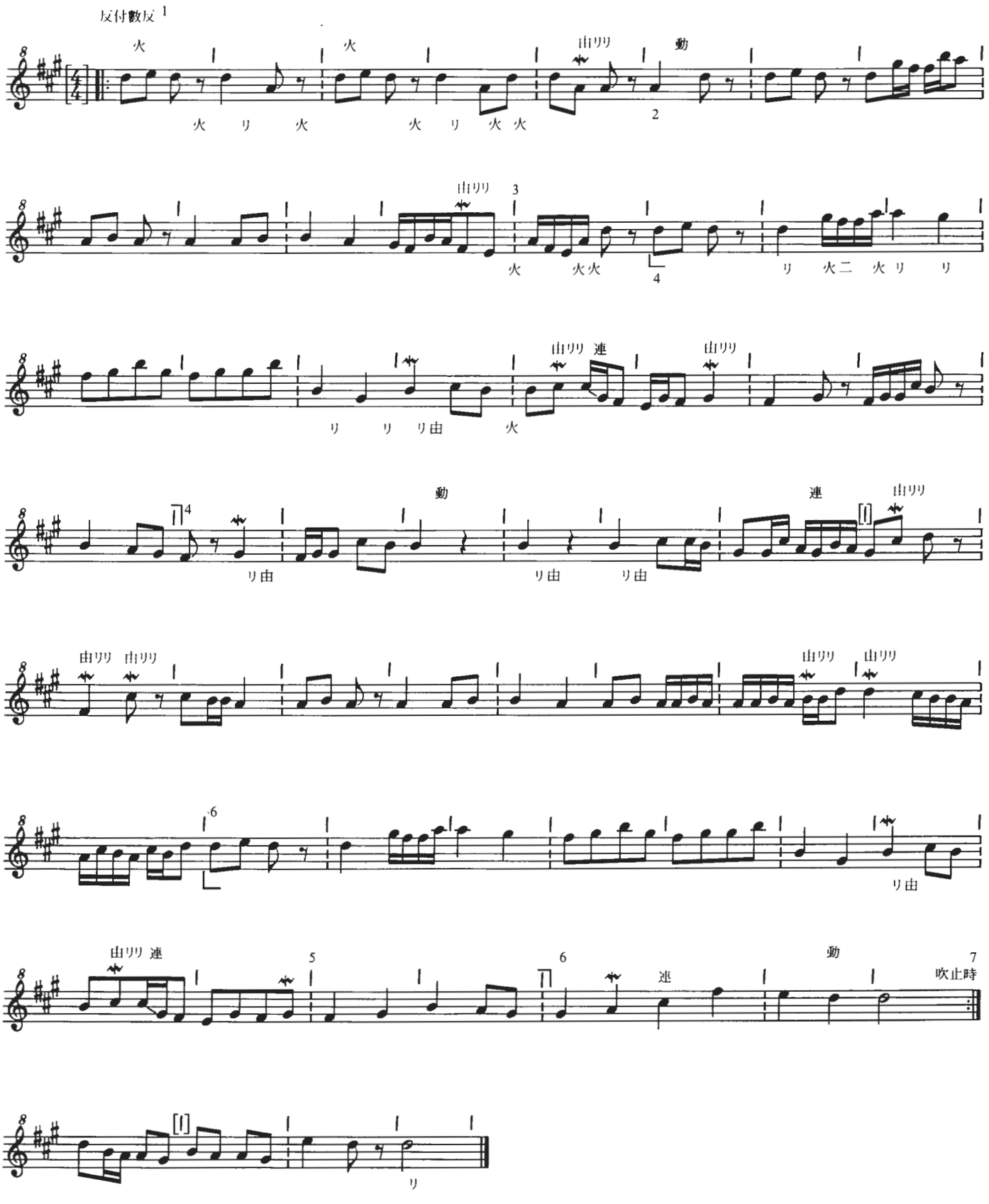
Tongdian states: 'Big-face [=masking] arose in Northern Qi. The King of Lanling, Changgong, a talented warrior, and personally attractive, usually wore a false face [=a mask] with which to face the enemy. When he routed the army of Zhou below the walls of Jinyong, he was braver than the foremost of three divisions of troops. The people of Qi, esteeming his greatness, made this dance in which the manner of his signalling, handling weapons, striking, and piercing, was imitated, and called it 'The Piece: The King of Lanling Penetrates the Formation'.
通丶典云大面出於北齊蘭陵王長恭才武而貌美常著[69]假面以對敵嘗擊周丶師金城下勇[70]冠三軍　齋人壯之爲作[71]此舞以效其指麾撃刺之容謂之蘭陵王入陣[72]曲

RSCY

Although the content of this preface is essentially the same as that of *JCYR*, the sequence of exposition is different. The *RSCY*-preface begins with a quotation attributed to *YFZL*, but which is, in fact, almost identical with the *TD*-passage in *JCYR*. The *RSCY* text lacks the intrusive 作 of the *JCYR*-text; but in place of 'dance', 舞 in *TD* and *JCYR*, it has 'tune' 聲, in agreement with the version of the *TD*-citation in *HPGS*. Unlike the *HPGS*-citation, however, the *RSCY*-text retains 城 ('city' or 'city wall').

[62] *RSCY* has 記. 了 appears to make better sense.
[63] *katakana* '*no ana*'; that is *roku no ana* 'the *roku*-hole'.
[64] "The Master" for Hakuga (Chōshūkyō) was, presumably, Prince Sadayasu (Nangū).
[65] This paragraph is clearly a summary of the *scenario*, as authorised by Moronaga, contrasting with those of Prince Sadayasu and Hakuga (Minamoto no Hiromasa).
[66] The use of *un/iu* 云 is surely an indication that recitation as speech is the intended meaning.
[67] A significant change in the verb 'to play' occurs with the next entry. Up to and including this entry, all the items are said to be 'blown', suggesting that winds alone participated in their performance.
[68] For *Wild Prelude* and Broaching the verb is changed to *dan/tan* 彈; specifically to pluck a stringed instrument.
[69] 著 for 着.
[70] 勇 for 曽.
[71] 作 is inserted.
[72] 陣 is glossed 陳丶イ perhaps 'beware of confusion with 陳丶.

RARYŌ-Ō FREE-PRELUDE (*RARYŌ-Ō RANJO*) *OR* FREE-TUNE (*RANJŌ*)

(Sources in tablature as for *Bongen*, p. xiv)

[1] The piece repeats from the beginning. 'Repeat several times' *Kaeshi tsuke sūhan* 反付數反 .

[2] This binary unit is duplicated in the copy of *c.* 1320.

[3] Binary marker absent in *RTYF* of 1688.

[4] Angular brackets ⌊ ⌉ mark a passage later repeated.

[5] Binary marker absent in *RTYF* of 1688.

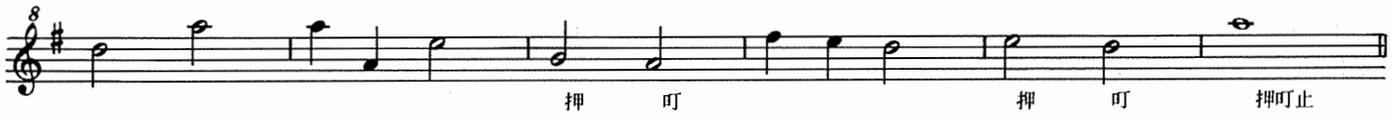
[6] Same as n. 4.

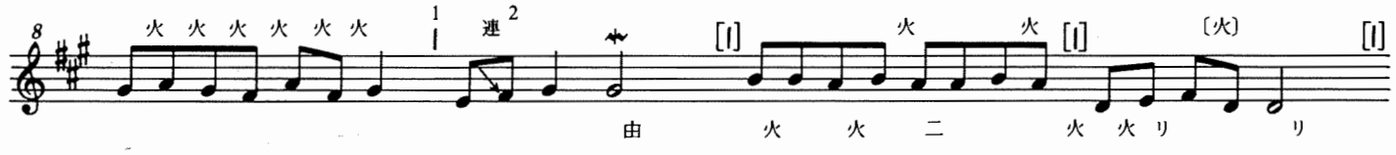
[7] 'When ending play' *Fuku tomaru toki* 吹止時 – that is, a final *Coda*.

Though the *Ra-ryō-ō Ranjo* is so entitled in the copies of *CORYF* of *c.* 1320 and 1587, and in *RTYF* of 1688, *CORYF* of 1674 gives the title as *Free-Tune* (*Ranjō/Luansheng* 乱聲). The term *luàn* was known in China (p. 27) already in ancient times, in the sense of a *Coda* or *Finale*. Whether *Ranjo* or *Ranjō* were originally distinct and separate pieces in the *Ryō-ō scenario* cannot, as yet, be decided; nor is it yet certain that the apparent equation of *Free-Prelude* and *Angry Prelude* (in Nangū's account of the *scenario*, in *JCYR*) is to be taken literally.

Again, in regard to the persistence of Japanese tradition, it is evident from Shiba's transcriptions (1972, 4, pp. 192–201) that the melodic line, here transcribed from the various copies of *CORYF*, survives in part, but enormously extended and rhythmically distorted, to the present. Under the title *Ryō-ō Ranjo* (序) Shiba shows what on inspection is revealed to be a version of this same piece from *CORYF* expanded in duration some 32 times: our ♪ = 𝅗𝅥, and decorated. Moreover, the piece is divided into six sections (*dan/duan* 段), preceded by eight 4/2 measures of a percussion-*ostinato* for *shōko*, *san-no-tsuzumi*, and *dadaiko*, with an optional repeat of the *ostinato*, for as long as desired, between sections. Approximately one of our (tentative) 4/4 measures furnishes the material for the first four sections; and the *Ranjo* ends with a slightly decorated version of the original *Coda*, for solo-flute, with percussion. The modality of the original is changed by consistent use of G♮ rather than G♯, but many C♯ and a number of F♯ are retained. The piece is rendered 'disordered' by presentation in canon in unison at a distance of one 4/2 measure.

At what date it became customary to play *Free Preludes* as approximate canons at the unison between three flutes, at a distance of about one measure, is not known. There is no evidence of canonical treatment in any genre of Chinese music, ancient or modern. Regarding the structure of this *Ranjo*, there is a partial repeat of material between brackets (⌊ ⌉), as shown. That this piece is a Japanese composition of pre-tenth-century date would seem probable. In its account of the events of the fourteenth day of the third month of the year 861 (Jōgan 3), *Tōdaiji-yōroku* (1944 edn, *maki dai san*, p. 86) records the performance of a *Ranjō* before a sequence of music-with-dance events, leading ultimately to an early-evening dancing of *Ryō-ō*. We can be certain, therefore, that the practice of *Ranjō* in Japan existed at least as early as the ninth century.

RYŌ-Ō NETORI 音取 (UNDER THE HEADING *RYŌ-Ō NO HA* 陵王破)

The *Netori* ('note-grasping') preserved by *SSSTF* defines only the pentatonic set of a 123.56 mode, with *D* as final. As previously emphasized (Fascicle 1, p. 32), the precise meaning, at this time, of the term 'check' (*osae* 押) is unknown. The term is listed, with the reading *osae*, in the *Kabu hinmoku*, *ge* 歌儛品目, 下 471, but along with other terms, is not explained. The sign 叮, already noted in Fascicle 1, occurs here again. Neither lexigraph survives in modern usage; both follow the last tablature-sign, together with 'end' 止. As with the *Bongen* (p. xiv), the last note is not the final; but here the previous *D* may well be sustained along with the ensuing *A*. A version of this *netori*, entitled *Sada-chō netori* is given by Shiba (1972, 4, p. 202) for mouth-organ (leading), *ryūteki*, *hichiriki* and *kakko* (or *san-no-tsuzumi* 三の鼓).

MODAL PRELUDE (調子 *CHŌSHI*) (FROM THE PREFACE TO *RYŌ-Ō* IN *JCYR*)

[1] Binary marker present in *RSCY*, absent in *JCYR*.

[2] *ren* 連 to F♯ marked in *JCYR*.

The beginning of the Modal Prelude, preserved in flute-tablature in *JCYR*, is a remarkable survival from the twelfth century. None of the Modal Preludes transcribed by Shiba are reminiscent of its melodic line; but the opening fragment succinctly defines a Lydian mode on *D* by displaying, in quick succession, two of the three ditonic, three-note nuclei: *e* (tone) *f♯* (tone) *g♯*, and *d* (tone) *e* (tone) f♯, present in the *Sada-chō* note-set: d e f♯ g♯ a b c♯.

SGYR

The lute-tablature for this prelude is preceded by three important prefatory comments. They show that this item was added to the body of *SGYR* in the Kamakura period (1203–1333), and that it came from the Toyohara family. Of greater general importance is the evidence they afford that the original text of Moronaga's compilation was not, in certain respects, sacrosanct. They also make clear that long before the time of preparation of the Palace copy of 1328, the responsibility for the perpetuation of Moronaga's original text had shifted, within the *Tōke* (the Fujiwara clan), very far from the direct descendants of Moronaga himself.

Moronaga's line of descent may be usefully followed from Morosuke 師輔 (908–60). From the third of his twelve sons, Kaneie 兼家 (929–79), the line continues through a first son, Michinaga 道長 (966–1027), to *his* first son, Yorimichi 頼通 (992–1079), and thence to first son, Morozane 師實 (Fascicle 1, p. 56) (1041–1101), maternal grandfather to the Emperor Horikawa (*ibid.*). From Morozane the line continues through *his* first son, Moromichi 師通 (1062–97), and *his* first son, Tadazane 忠實 (1078–1162), to second son, Yorinaga 頼長 (1120–56), of whom Moronaga was the second son. None of Moronaga's four sons appear to have had issue.

The members of the Fujiwara clan who, from the various colophonata, continued the copying, or at least supervision of the copying, of *SGYR*, together with the insertion of additional material (*either* in the body of the text, *or* as overlying labels, pasted to the surface of the paper-sheets that constitute the scrolls), were descendants of a less exalted branch of the clan. Their immediate line begins with Tokitaka 説孝 and passes through his third son, Sadasuke 定輔. Sadasuke's own third son's grandson, Hiro sada 博定 sired a Lute-Master, Takahiro 孝博, and in direct line of grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson, the three faithful editor-copyists of the Palace copy of *SGYR* in 1328, were engendered. These were father: Takamichi 孝道, son: Takatoki 孝時, grandson: Takayori 孝頼, and Takayori's son, Takahide 孝秀.

From the three prefatory comments that now follow, it is plain that the first entry was written by Takatoki, in 1244, and records the transmission of the piece: *Wild Prelude*, to his son, Takayori. The genealogical tables give no dates from Tokitaka to Takahide; but a second son of the latter was alive in 1312.

The second entry records that the piece came from Tokimoto – that is, presumably, Toyohara no Tokimoto (1058–1123) (Fascicle 1, p. 34). (The musical links between the Toyohara and Fujiwara clans are well attested.)

The third entry will have been the first record of transmission of the piece from father (Takamichi) to son (Takatoki).

A point to be noted is that the in-text descriptions of Takatoki and Takayori as 'eldest sons' of their respective fathers is compatible with the published genealogy: *Keizu sanyō* 系図纂要 (Heibonsha, 1973) *satsu* 2 (for Moronaga himself), *satsu* 4 (for the descendants of Takamichi).

The entry by Takatoki (referring to himself as a Buddhist novice) implies that it was *his* decision to incorporate the *Wild Prelude* into the body of *SGYR* for the first time. By then, it must have been realised just how rare notations of this piece, for any instrument, were; and it is perhaps significant of recognition of the fact: that this element of the *Ryō-ō scenario* had almost been lost, that the thirteenth-century dance-score, *Shōchū-yōroku hikyoku* (1263),[73] includes two different dance-notations for the *Wild Prelude* (p. 32).

The one to whom, according to established practice, the said piece was imparted, was eldest son Takayori, who habitually played many pieces, from *Ōdai* onwards. In the twelve scrolls of [*Sango-*] *Yōroku*, there is at present no remnant of it. Fourth Day, Second Month, Fifth Year of Kangen [1246] *Shami* [=Buddhist novice] under [personal] seal.

又一男孝頼日來諸曲皇帝以下彈了之間任先創當曲授之者也要録十二巻之内於□今者無殘事寛元五年二月四日沙弥在判

The same piece

同曲、時元説 Tokimoto's version [Toyohara no Tokimoto, 1058–1123]

Imparted to Eldest Son, Takatoki. 授長男孝時了
In Kempō 6 [1218], Eighth Month, Seventh Day.
Former Head of Carpentry, *Gontō* [Shintō-hierarchy]
Takamichi
under [personal]
seal.
于時建保六年八月七日前杢權頭
孝道
在判

A note on 'The Score of Secret Pieces for Dragon-Flute (Complete)' (*Ryūteki hikyoku-fu (zen)* 龍笛秘曲譜全)

The flute-score of this title (signature: 8–60シ7) is the eighty-third item among a collection of musical documents of the Hayashi Family (musicians of the *Shitennōji* in Ōsaka) (*Shitennōji gakunin Hayashike gakushorui* 四天王寺樂人林家樂書類、第八十三冊), now held in the library of Kyōto University *Kyōto Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan* 京都大學付屬図書館. This is an important document for the history of the development of flute-versions of certain *Tōgaku*-items in the post-Heian, Kamakura period (1203–1333). It includes complete scores of *Ōdai hajin-raku* (Fascicles 1, 2, and 3) and *Toraden* (Fascicles 2 and 3), together with three other movements from three different pieces. Each of these items is followed by a separate colophon, and from these it

[73] 掌中要録秘曲 *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 530, pp. 434–6.

is clear that all five items were written, on the same day (30th Day of the Eighth Month of the Year 1287), by Fujiwara no Nagamasa under his personal *kaō*. It is planned to publish the flute-version of *Ōdai hajin-raku* in Fascicle 6, printed over that from KCF (Fascicle 3), and this in turn over the single-stave, justified conflation prepared by N.J.N. (Fascicle 2, p. 76). On that occasion, the terminal colophon, authenticating the entire manuscript, written by Uzumasa no Hironuki 太秦廣貫 in 1685, will be reproduced and translated, together with Fujiwara no Nagamasa's colophon to his copy of *Ōdai hajin-raku*. Here now, the flute-version of the *Wild Prelude* (from 1287) will be combined with the lute-version from *SGYR*. The brief preface to the *Wild Prelude* was shown earlier (p. 16).

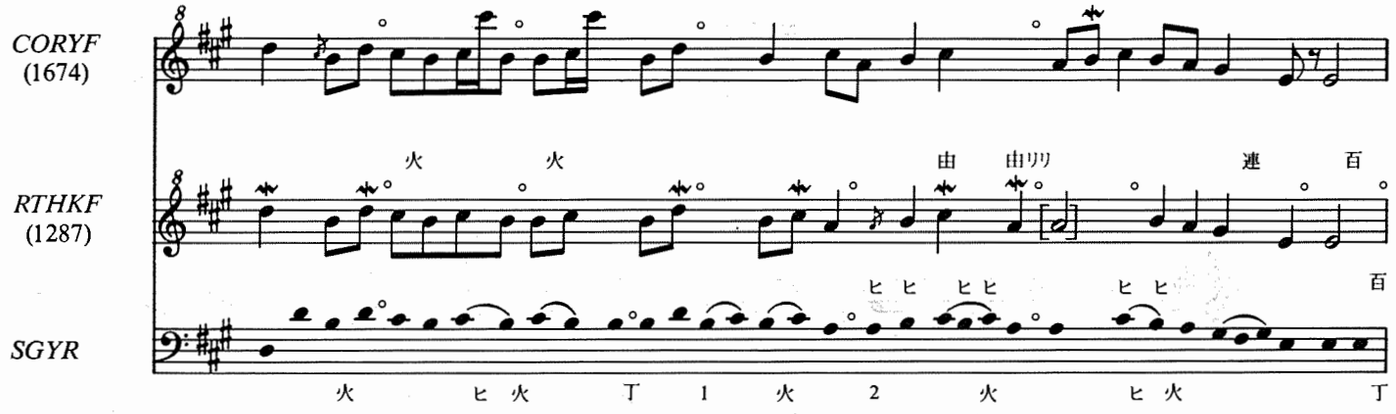
Wild prelude (*Kōjo* 荒序)

RTHKF

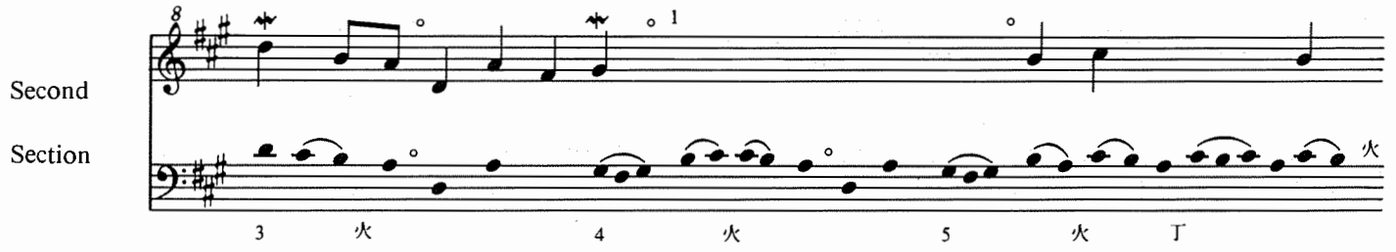
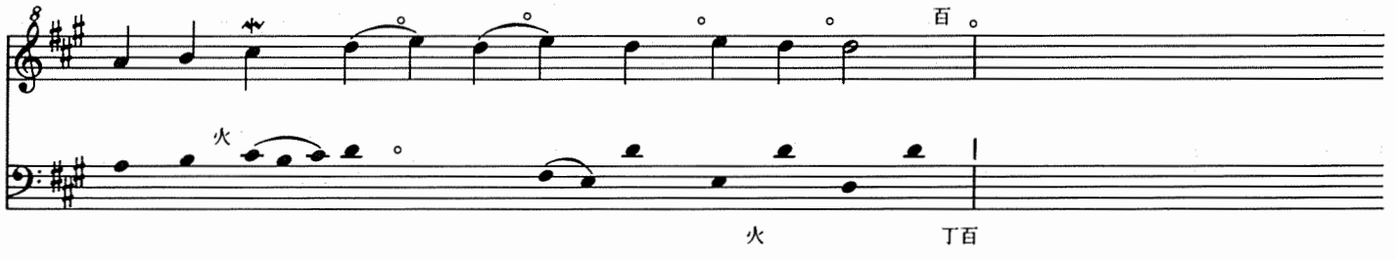
'*Netori* (written as *Koe o toru*); secret version for Eight Directions added.'

取音付八方秘説

First Section only (see p. 20)



1 *SGYR* (right): 'one version states'.

2 *SGYR* (right): (cancelled)

3 *SGYR* (right):

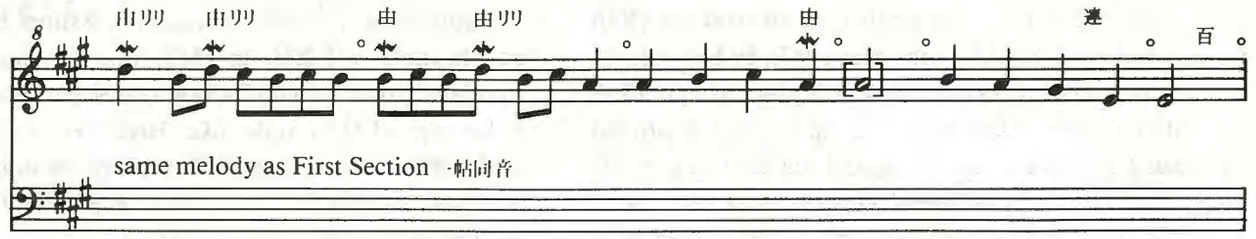
4 *SGYR* (right):

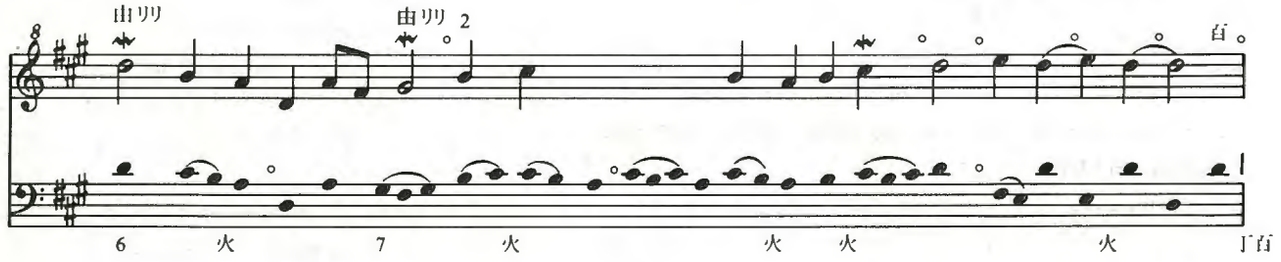
5 *SGYR* (right):

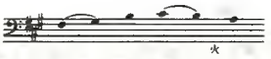
1 *RTHKF* (right):

'When doing "Eight Directions" add this phrase.'

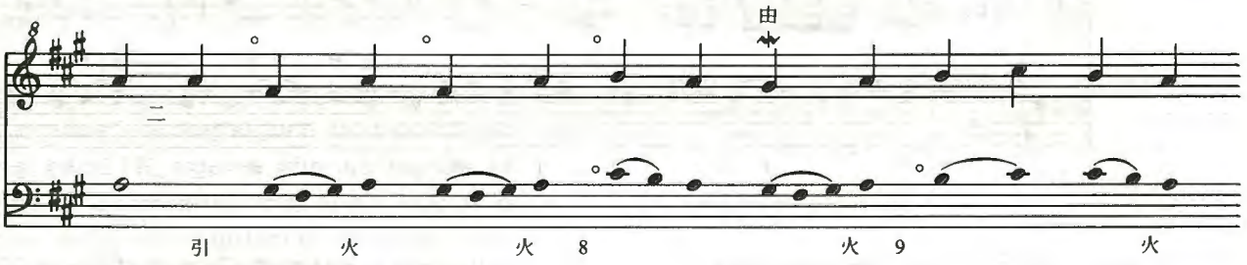
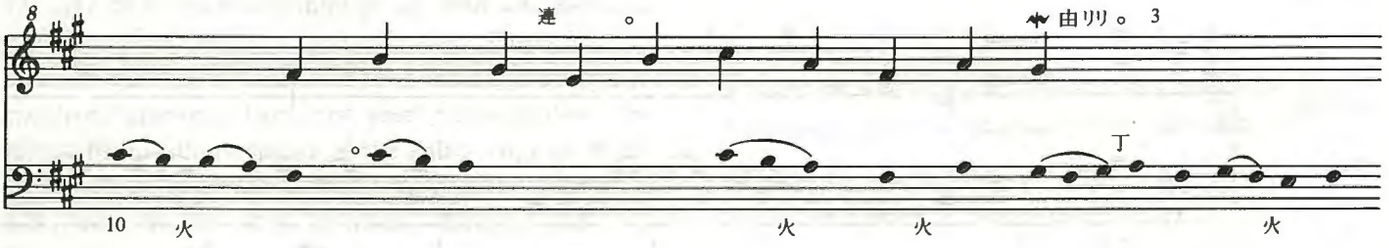
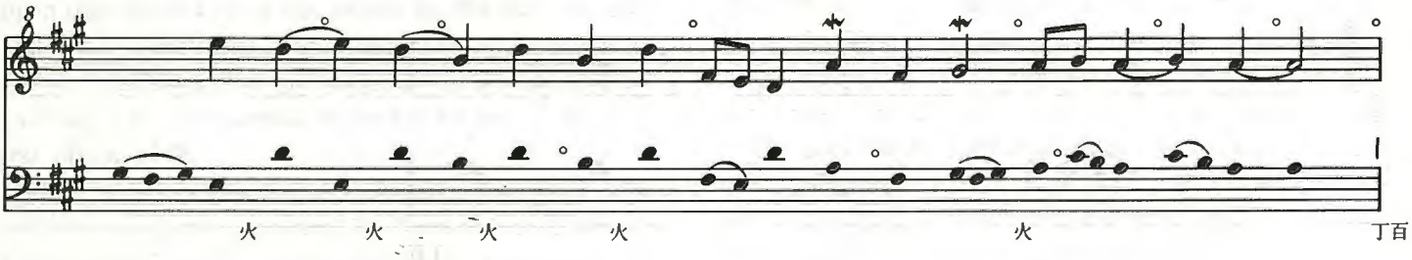
Third Section



Fourth Section

6 *SGYR* (right):

7 *SGYR* (right):

2 *RTHKF*

(omitted, since no match with *SGYR*)

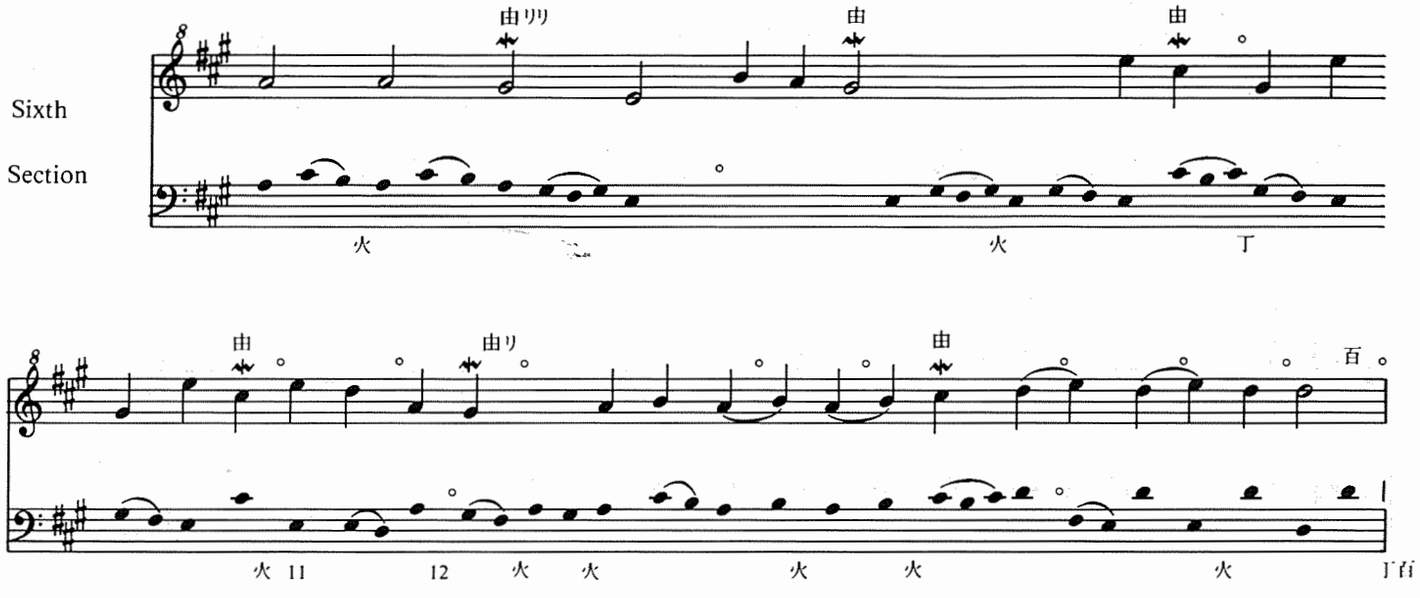
Fifth Section

8 *SGYR* (left): 'one version states no stop' 一説不停

9 *SGYR* (left): 'as above' 同上 (that is: no stop)

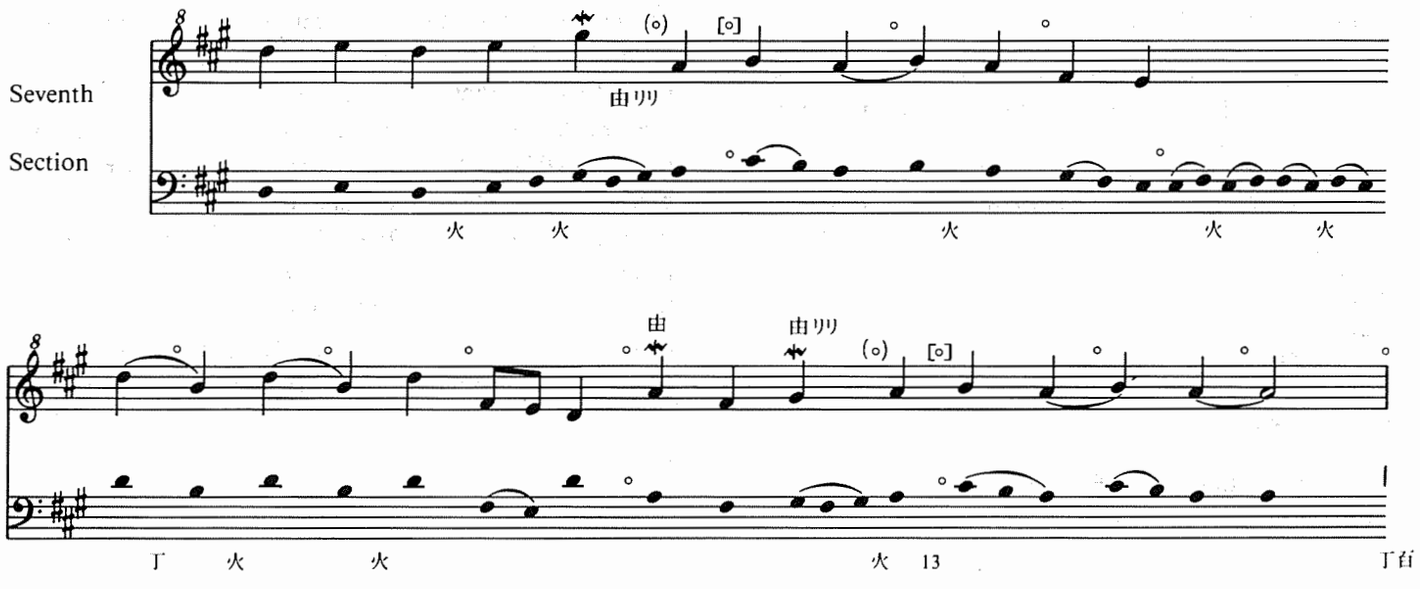
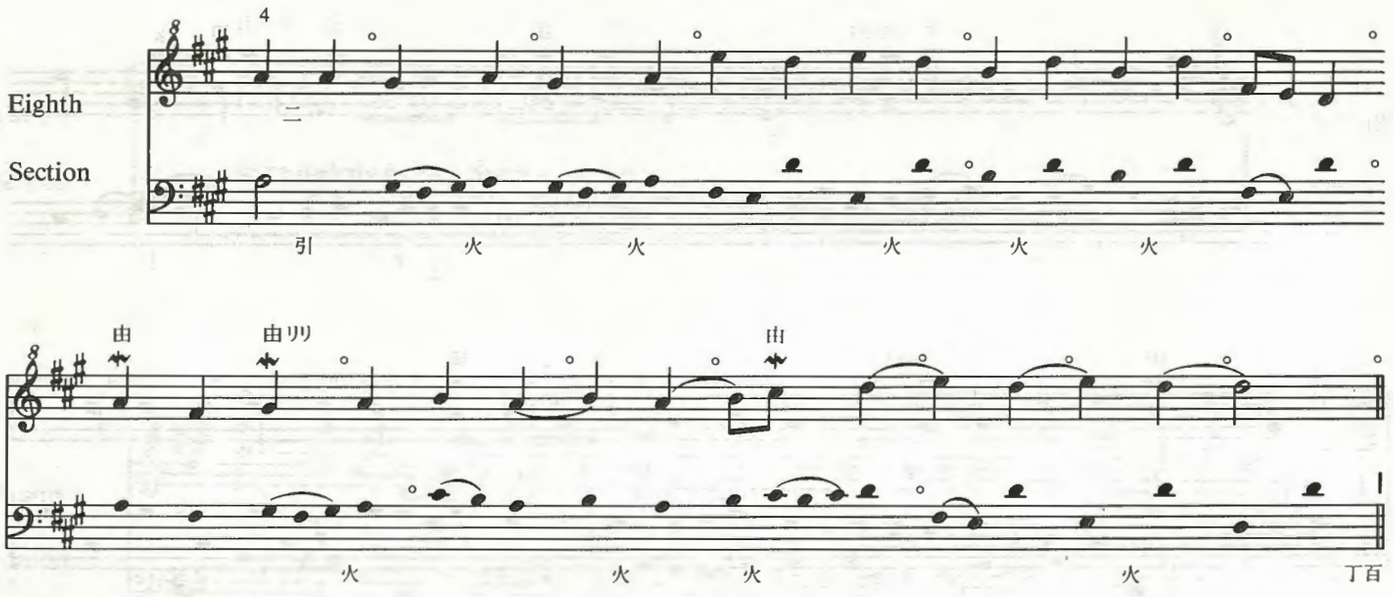
10 *SGYR* (right):

3 *RTHKF* (right):

'When doing "Eight Directions" add this phrase.'



11 *SGYR* (left):

12 *SGYR* (left): 'one version states no stop'. 一説不停

13 *SGYR* (left): 'one version states no stop'. 一説不停

4 *RTHKF* 'A shake on *A* should be played slowly when doing "Eight Directions"'
タ由八方之時可吹延

Colophon (in RTHKF):

The piece to the right [that is, in the manuscript] [offers] 'Four-Directions' [and] 'Eight-Directions' versions, without reservation, respectfully imparted.

Records of the Eastern Palace
Tenth Year of *Kōan* [1287], Eighth Month, Thirtieth Day, First Grade, Second Rank, Fujiwara Diligent Diviner [Shintō] Nagamasa (*kaō*)
右曲四方八方之説無可殘
奉授
東宮記
弘安十年八月三十日正二位
藤原孜卜長雅(花押)

The transcription (by R.F.W.) of the *gaku biwa* version from *SGYR* shows note-heads only, since the paucity of intracolumnary dots makes rhythmisation more than usually uncertain. The *Wild Prelude* is absent from *CORYF* (*c.* 1320); but a transcription of the opening of the First Section, as shown in the copy, *CORYF* (1674), is added above the stave (*RTHKF*). Evidently the later manuscript is appreciably more decorated than that of 1287. No binary markers are present in *CORYF* (1674), but these occur in the form of intracolumnary dots in *RTYF* (1688). Common to both MSS. is the absence of headings for the eight Sections, and the presence of a sign not seen elsewhere: ***hikae*** 扣 'wait' or 'waiting', apparently doubling the length of the first note in Sections 1–4, as implied (for Section 4) by the *SGYR*-gloss in n. 6 (p. 18).

ENTERING BROACHING (*JUHA / RUPO* 入破)

KF/HSFRK

'Entering Broaching (quick). Four Sections. Drum-beats of each separate Section, sixteen.' 入破早・四帖・拍子帖別十六

SSSTF

(see p. 12)

JCYR

Entering Broaching

SGYR

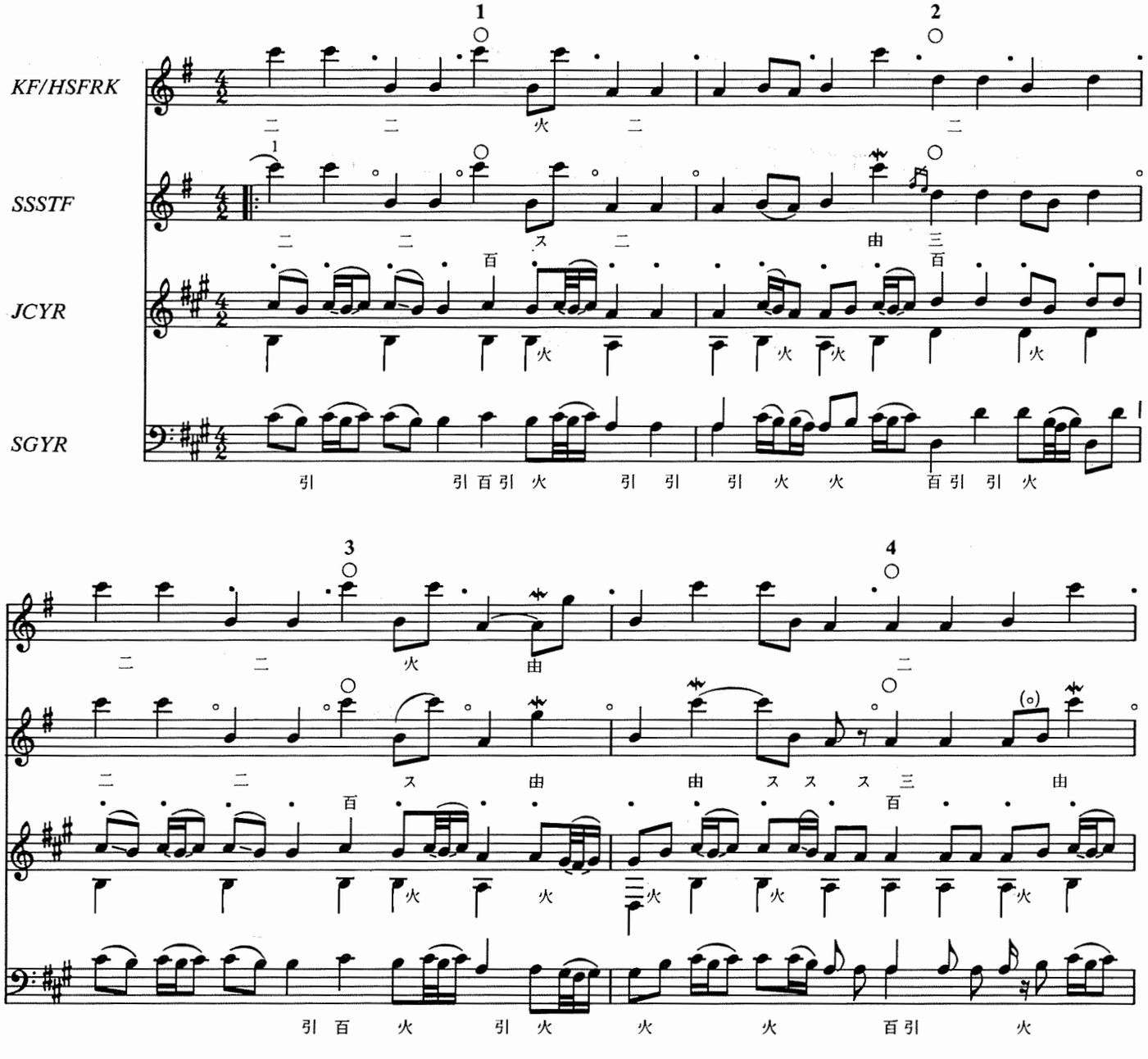
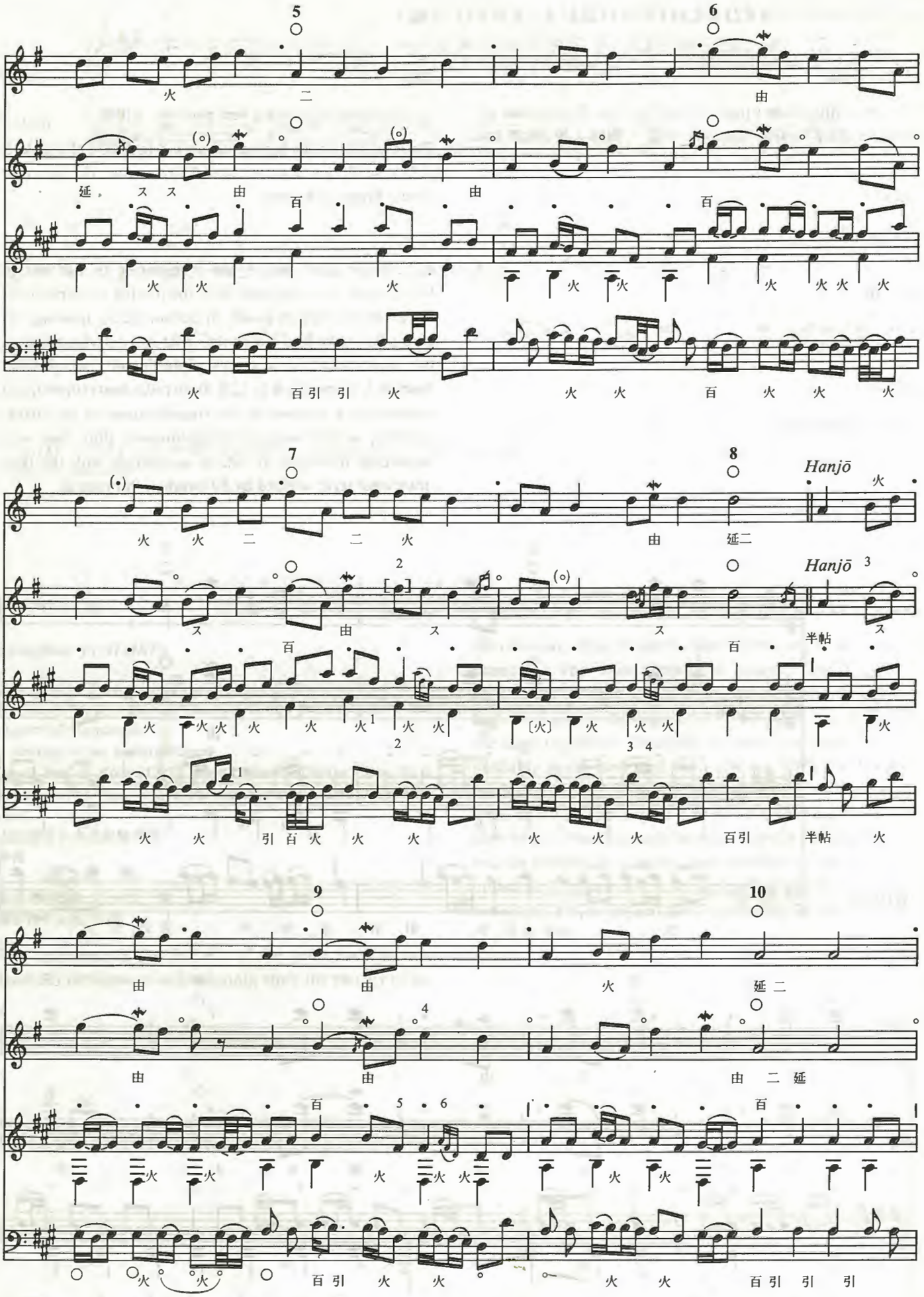
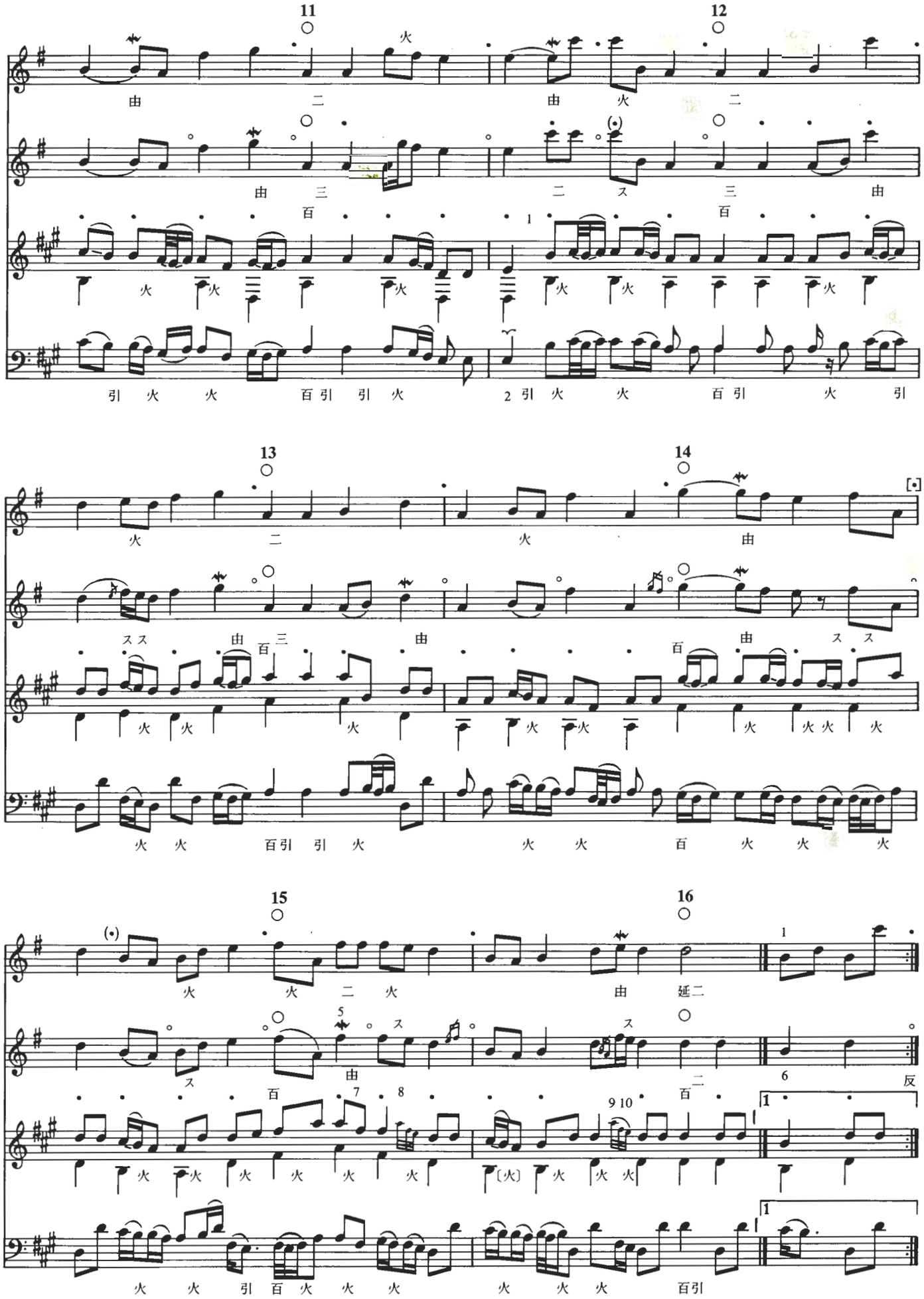
Entering Broaching

RSCY

Entering Broaching: greatly bent plucking 大僂操

This term has only been encountered in *RSCY* (Fascicle 2, p. 17). So far, it is not understood, but seems to imply a particular finger-technique.

Note

KF/HSFRK and *SSSTF* are transcribed in the simple, binary style, in accordance with the placing of intracolumnary, binary markers (solid, or hollow, dots), ignoring the placing of *taiko* and *kakko* dots that assist performance in the syncopated, binary style (*gakubyōshi*; see R.F.W., Fascicle 4, Appendix 4, p. 121). Both *taiko*-beats (*hyaku*) and *kakko*-dots are shown in the transcriptions of the string-versions, scored *without* intracolumnary dots, but with occasional *ichi*-signs (p. ix), in accordance with the later notational style, utilized by Fujiwara no Moronaga.


5
6
7
8
9
10
Hanjō
Hanjō
半帖

11
12
13
14
15
16
由 二 火 由 火 二
由 三 百 二 ス 三 百 由
火 火 火 火 火 火 火 火
引 火 火 百 引 引 火 2 引 火 火 百 引 火 引
ス ス 由 百 三 由 百 由 ス ス
火 火 火 火 火 火 火 火 火 火
火 火 百 引 引 火 火 火 百 火 火 火
火 火 二 火 由 延 二
ス 由 百 ス 二 百
火 火 火 火 火 火 火 〔火〕 火 火 火
火 火 引 百 火 火 火 火 火 火 百 引

KF/HSFRK

1 See n. 6 under *SSSTF*. Note difference between this *Kandō* and that of *SSSTF*.

SSSTF

1 This is the only version that marks a *Da Capo* 付反 from the beginning of the piece. This implies that the piece repeats with an anacrusis of two crotchets/quarter-notes in duration, while the last bar ends short by the same amount. In all four versions the half-Section *Hanjō* 半帖 is marked before the last quarter of the eighth measure.

2 A gloss in red suggests an earlier version: *a″ f♯″* (in *shō*-tablature: 行下列). This matches zither- and lute-versions.

3 A right-hand gloss, in parallel with the column of tablature-signs states: 'When playing once only, increase the [*taiko*-] beats from this Half Section [onwards]'
一反時者自此半帖拍子上.

4 Same gloss as in n. 2.

5 Gloss: 'Earlier *a″*' 行列.

6 As usual, a non-standard *kanji* is used for 'modified', in the 'modified incipit' term: *Kandō*. To facilitate printing, the correct form, as used by Shiba, is used here: 換頭.

JCYR

1 (right) (gloss)

(right)

2

3 slur supplied

(right)

4

(right)

5

(right)

6

(right)

7

(right)

8

(right)

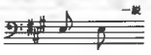
9

(left)

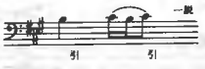
10

SGYR

1 (left)



'one version states'.

2 (left)

'one version states'.

RETIRING MUSIC: 'MOTHER'/'DURGA' *AMMA*, AND THE ASSOCIATED TEXT

The performance of *Ryō-ō* at the ceremony of consecration of the Great Buddha Image of the *Tōdaiji*, in 752, perhaps implies that the piece had already acquired specifically Buddhist associations. This is suggested by the version of the *quasi-Stamping-Song* text linked with the name of Owari Muraji no Hamanushi (p. 6). It would seem certain that such associations were explicit by the time of Empress Shōtoku-Tennō 稱德天皇 (reigned 765–9), when the piece *Amma*, a Sanskrit title (=Mother≡*Durga*) came to be used regularly for the return of the *Ryō-ō* dancer (or dancers) to the tiring-tent (*RMS*): 'When retiring, *Amma* is played. Before this time, the *Sada-chō* Modal Prelude had been played; but in the honourable time of Empress Takano-hime Tennō [Shōtoku-Tennō] it is reported by word of mouth that it was done to *Amma*.' いる時安摩をふく。これもとは沙陁調調子をふきけるが。女帝高野姫天皇(稱德)の御時。安摩になされたるとぞいひつたへたる。

The text of *Amma*, as preserved in *HPGS* (p. 925), is a striking mixture of Hindu and Buddhist references. Though corrupt, the text is in Chinese and apparently in lines of seven monosyllabic words to the line:

In what place did preaching first arise?
Preaching first arose in Southern India.
Asura,[74] the Seed of Buddhism. . .
And such places made the pleasure of singing-girls.
The pleasure of preaching is the Buddha's pleasure.
The Exalted One's taking from, and giving to, the Mother.
初音聲本出何處(一段)
音聲本出南天竺(國)
佛家種子阿修羅
等處作妓〔女之〕樂(一段)
音聲娛樂佛娛樂
貴人之取賦安摩(一段已上)

In making the translation, the Chinese term *yinsheng* 音聲 has been interpreted (as in Buddhist usage) as 'preaching'. The primary meaning is, of course, 'sound'. The significance of the marking off of certain lines or couplets in the text as 'paragraphs' (*duan* 段) is not understood. The text does not make plain whether the song-text was to be sung to the

[74] A demon, or demons, at war with Indra. One of eight classes of supernatural beings in the *Lotus sūtra*.

music that survives, or whether it was to be recited silently, or chanted.

It is evident, however, that what *HPGS* has to say about the *Amma*-piece is incompatible with the statement in *RMS*. (*HPGS*, p. 925):

The *Amma*-piece was respectfully offered in the honourable time of the Jōwa Emperor [834–47] when, by Imperial Decree, Ōto no Kiyogami made it. It is called: 'The *Yinyang* Ground-Breaking Piece' or 'The Piece of the Southern Director of Heavenly Government', and so on. Some say this piece should not be regarded as one originally made in this country, with song-words. Properly, it is to be regarded as an Indian piece, and so on.
安摩曲、承和帝御時奉敕大戸清上作之、 謂之陰陽地鎭曲南之天可監曲云云或曰、此曲不可本朝製作、以囀詞見之、 則正可爲天竺國之曲云云

Ōto no Kiyogami's dates are not known, but it is probable that he was lost at sea by 841. The statement in *HPGS* seems to have been made in ignorance of the tradition alluded to by the earier *RMS*.

The Buddhist allusion in Owari's song-text for *Ryō-ō*, together with Buddhist allusions in the song-text for *Amma*, and the fact of the performance of *Ryō-ō* at the Tōdaiji image-consecration in 752, are not incompatible with *KKS*'s tradition (from the otherwise unknown *Rendō-fu*, p. 7) of transmission by a certain Buttetsu 佛哲. Regarding the historicity of this personage, reference may be made to the discussion in Fascicle 3, p. 31, and in Fascicle 4, p. 66; but whether an invented or a real companion of the Brahman Bodai 菩提, the name 'Buddha's Wisdom' is evidently a further mark of Buddhistic association. It is certain, however, that *Ryō-ō* was not classed with the dance-music of Champa, since the Free-Tune (*Ran-jō* 亂聲), specified by *RMS* for *Ryō-ō*, performances is a New-Music Free-Tune (*Shingaku ranjō* 新樂亂聲).

'MOTHER'/'DURGA' *AMMA* 安摩

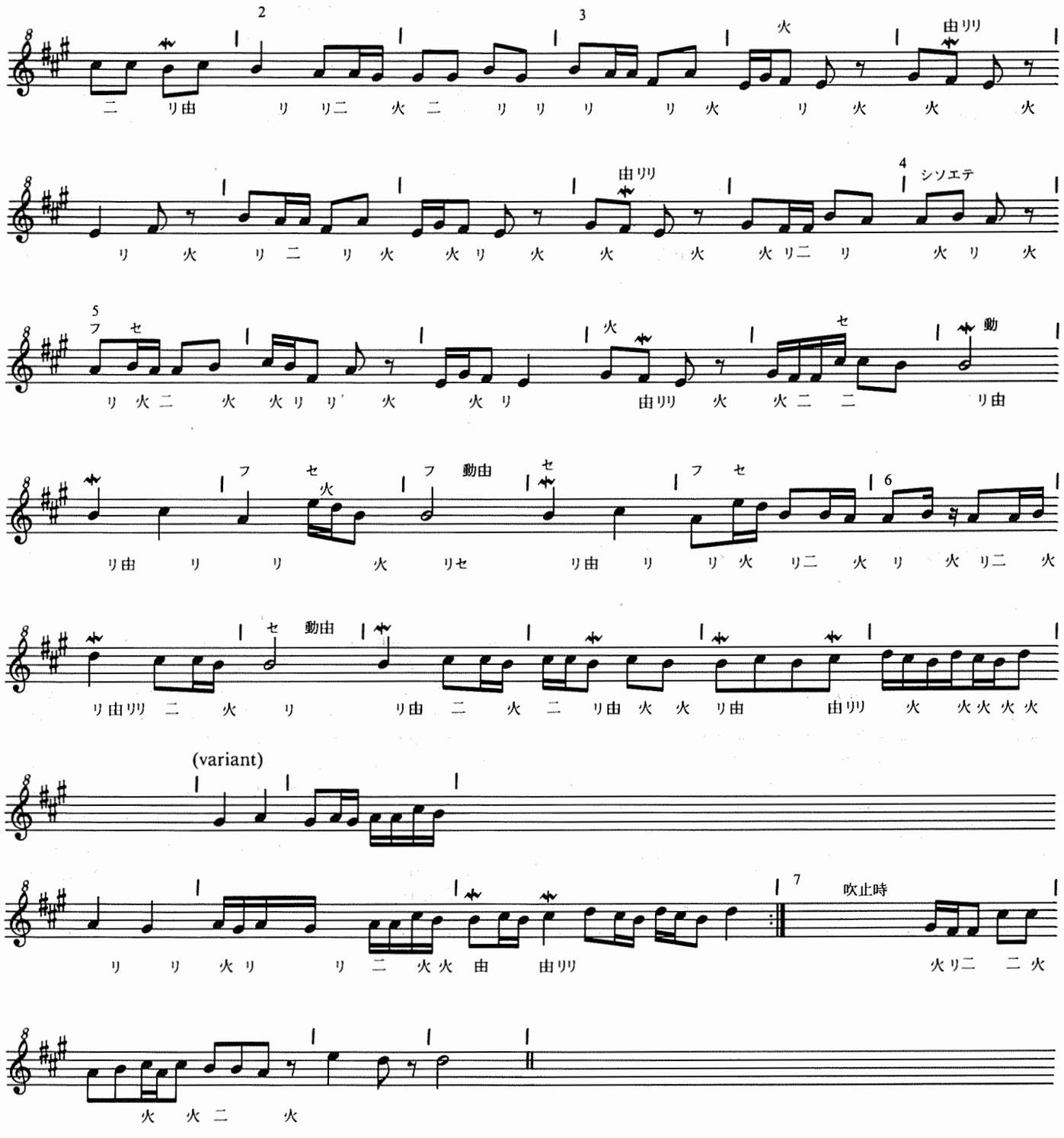
CORYF	(*c.* 1320)	*Amma*
〃	(1587)	〃
〃	(1674)	〃
RTYF	(1688)	*Amma*

Old music. Like a Large Piece. Several ancestral caps with eyebrows, and various masks, are worn. Baton held on left. There is heavy stamping when starting. One or two men dance it.

Method of doing the dance: First blow *Sada-chō* Modal Prelude. Next transverse-flute does the *Netori*. *Amma* is [then] blown. The dancer emerges to the elegant *Free-Tune*. At the end of the dance, the music ends together with it. There follows the *saezuri*. To this there is no music. There follows pointing with the baton. The *taiko* ends together with the elegant music. There follows the start of the final elegant music as the dancer goes to the music-room. After retiring is completed, the music [is played] three times, and at the end once, quickly blowing. There are two kinds of mask for the second dance as answering-dance. When *Amma* is done by one man, the second dance too is done by one man. Also in the dancing of *Soriko*[1] 蘇利古 by boy(s) there is an added manner.
古樂准大曲諸眉祖冠ニ雜面ヲアテ、 笏ヲ右ニ持踏懸ヲスルナリ一人二人舞之舞之作法先吹沙陁 調調子 次ニ横笛音取テ安摩ヲ吹次ニ舞人出手乱聲舞終樂共終ル次ニ 囀是ニハ、 無樂次ニ 笏指手樂太鼓共ニ終ル次ニ終手樂ヲ始ル舞人樂屋入後止ル樂三切終一切急吹答舞二舞面ニ二様有之安摩一人ノ時者二舞モ 一人也又ハ蘇利古童舞ニハ加様有也 (1688)

[1] A *Komagaku*-piece in the modal class *Koma Ichikotsu-chō*.

Note

Small differences between the four manuscripts have been ignored, apart from those noted. The text as transcribed is essentially that of the Tenri MS of *c.* 1320. The infrequency of *ichi*-signs from n. 5 onwards makes rhythmisation less certain.

[2] *Da Capo* marked from this *b'* in copies of *CORYF* of 1587 and 1674, and in *RTYF* of 1688. 'Repeat from here for several repeats' 反付數反.

[3] *Da Capo* marked from this *b'* in *CORYF* MS. of *c.* 1320. 'Repeat from here' 返付.

[4] Annotation in *katakana* (MS. *c.* 1320): *shisoete* シソエテ(?)

[5] Marking in *katakana*: *fu* フ (short for *fukura* 脹らフクラ) indicating lower octave – 'puff out'; *se* セ (short for *seme-on* 責音ゼメオン) indicating overblown octave – 'tortured sound'. These markings are from *CORYF* (1674).

[6] 'When blowing fast, begin blowing here' 早吹時吹出也 (1674, 1688). This may mean: 'When abbreviating, start here.'

[7] A short *Coda*. 'When ending blow [this]' 吹止時.

The transcription of *Amma* takes cognisance of readings in three manuscripts of *CORYF*, and of the *RTYF* of 1688. At once the overwhelming importance of the ditonic sets: *c♯ b a* and *g♯ f♯ e*, is apparent, as is the unusual importance, as cadence-notes, of the superfinal, *E*, and the mediant, *B*, rather than dominant and final. In this feature, the modal characteristics are markedly different from those of *Ichikotsu-chō*, as exemplified by *Ō-dai hajin-raku*, for example (see N.J.N.'s analysis in Fascicle 2, pp. 80–9), where final and dominant function as cadence-notes more frequently than do superfinal and submediant. On a tonic-dominant drone, the piece seems to have the flavour of a *Bhairavi rāga*, in keeping with its alleged Indian origin. The substance of the quotation from *HPGS* (p. 925) is taken from *KKS* 2, p. 29, where it is made plain that while, in some sense, Ōto no Kiyogami 'made' it in accordance with imperial decree, it was stated, in old records (*koki un* 古記云): 'This piece is music of *Tenjiku* [India]' 此曲天竺ノ樂也, albeit the circumstances of transmission have not been examined. Ōto no Kyōgami himself is stated to have observed: 'Of course it is not newly made; it is merely that its notes have been amended' 更非新製改直其詞許也. *KKS* devotes several pages to *Amma*, the nature of the dance (for one or two men), and the Japanese text of the associated song or chant (*ei* 詠 or *saezuri* 囀).

Ran/Luan 亂, Ranjo *and* Ranjō: *an hypothesis*

A recorded performance of *Ryō-ō* (The Music of Japan, Record 2, *Gagaku*, Bärenreiter Musicaphon, 1962) ends with 'a fragment of a piece, called *Ama* (sic).' As the recording reveals, this is an item scored by Shiba (1972 4, p. 188) under the title *Ama Ranjō* 安摩乱聲 and laid out as a somewhat irregular canon in unison at variable distance for three flutes, with gong (*shōko* 鉦鼓) and large bass-drum (*dadaiko* 大太鼓). The flute-line is an embellished and modally transformed version of *Amma*, here transcribed (p. 26), and ends with a scarcely changed version of the final phrase, labelled (in our transcription): 'When ending blow [this]' 吹止時, but in Shiba headed: 'Blow ending phrase' 吹止句.

This use of a *Ranjō*-version of a piece at the *end* of a performance seems to have no parallel elsewhere in the *Tōgaku*-repertory, and has stimulated further enquiry into the nature of *Ranjo* and *Ranjō*.

The primary meaning of the lexigraph 亂/乱, as given in Japanese-English dictionaries, is 'riot, rebellion, war.' This *Ran* is the title of a recent film by Kurosawa Akira 黒澤明 and the first syllable of *Rambō* 乱暴 'violence', 'lawlessness', etc. In a Chinese context, however, it has been known, at least since the compilation of 'The Book of Documents' (*Shujing* 書經) during the Eastern Zhou period (*c.* 450–221 BC), that *Luàn* may carry quite opposite meanings: 'to establish good order, to govern well.' Of some 30 occurrences of *luàn* in *Shujing*, the meaning in eleven instances is 'order' implying 'good government'; in the remaining instances the lexigraph stands for 'disorder', 'confusion', 'bad government' or 'rebellion'.

As Mr Arthur Cooper (1985) has shown, the two opposite meanings: order and disorder, are understandable in the light of the primary graphic etymon (bronze script) (K. 1806) showing 'a bar with two hands holding a thread for "to wind around"; but which could equally represent doing the opposite, "unwinding".' The parallel with English "to ravel" – which can mean (O.E.D.) both 'to tangle' or 'confuse', and 'to unwind', 'to disentangle' and 'to unravel' – is striking. The determinative (K. 505: 乙 **i̯ĕt/ i̯ĕt/*yi), a loan for the guts of a fish (in *Liji* 禮記), may confirm the 'disentangle' meaning, since the guts of fish are not tangled. In the Han dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 説文解字 (AD 121), the only meaning given for *luàn* is *zhi* 治 'to control', 'to govern' – as noted by Mr Cooper (private communication), and this same verb exists in technical use in relation to silk-technology to this day, in the compound *zhisi* 治絲 'to disentangle silk'. The term is applied to the off-reeling of silk-thread from the cocoon; and it is conceivable that the bronze-script form of *luàn* represents this process, the bar being the axle of the rotating frame, the figure-of-eight being silk thread.

The existence of the 'putting-in-order' meaning is also apparent in the use of the word *luàn* for a musical and textual ending-passage in a musical work. In the poetic texts assembled as 'Song-words of Chu' (*Chuci* 楚辭), and attributed in part to Qu Yuan 屈原 (400 BC), a concluding passage, entitled *luàn*, is marked in eleven out of 20 titles. In translating, Hawkes (1959), with nice judgement, marks these as 'Envoi' – the action of despatching; but this term in French usage was originally reserved for lines at the end of a ballad which revealed its character as an act of hommage to a hitherto unnamed dedicatee. A *luàn* by Qu Yuan frequently has the character of an apothegm, elogium, sententia, dictum. These terms, put forward here in attempting to define the function of a verse-structure, might also be transferred, in many instances, to description of the formal appendage at the end of a piece of music, the 'tail': *Coda*. As Hubert Parry (1879) well wrote: 'that part which comes at the end of a movement or piece of any kind, and has to a certain extent an independent existence and object, and though not always absolutely necessary cannot often be easily dispensed with.' Or again: 'it is at the option of the composer to enlarge the conclusion independently into a coda.' Inasmuch as a coda/conclusion so often involves (in our idiom) 'pulling threads together', it is self-evident that the same lexigraph could also carry a musical meaning, and both from *Chuci*, and from the 'Analects' (*Lunyu* 論語) of Confucius, we know that this was indeed the case.

That the *luàn* had its musical aspect as well as a verbal aspect is explicit in 'The Great Summons' *Da Zhao* 大招 of Qu Yuan (*Chuci zhushi*, 1985, p. 548):

46. 'Two files of eight dance with measured tread;
Joined are the ritual songs!
The chanting of songs is choice!
With striking of bells and lithophones in tune,

The performers embark on the coda!
The four highest compete as they blow
The last section of the tune!
49. O soul, return!
Hear the songs and praises!'

二八接舞 投詩賦[75]只
叩鐘調聲 娛人[76]亂只
四上競氣 極聲變只
魂乎歸徠 聽歌譔只

The participation of dancers in the *luàn* is explicit, and we are clearly concerned with *yue* (Fascicle 2, p. 108), not with mere music in our sense. The file of eight dancers was a standard unit in the Zhou from earliest times onwards. The word *bian* 變 is presumably equivalent to the quasi-homophones *bian* 遍 or *pian* 篇, in turn equivalent to Sino-Japanese *jō* 帖. In its present meaning of 'change' it might refer to the changing sequence of notes in a tune. It certainly does not imply 'modulation' as we now understand the term; of modulation in that sense no trace exists in early Chinese melody. Here the meaning is more probably 'section' or 'division' – the elements that are 'linked' together: *luán* 鸞 (K. 178a).

The first and most famous musical instance of a named *luàn* occurs in an observation by Confucius, recorded in the 'Analects' *Lunyu* (viii, 15): 'The Master said, When Chih the Chief Musician led the climax of the *Ospreys*, what a grand flood of sound filled one's ears!.' (Waley, 1938, 1945, 1949, p. 135) 子曰、師摯之始關雎之亂、洋洋乎盈耳哉. Retaining *luàn* as a technical term and accounting, in pedestrian fashion, for each lexigraph in this passage, we may now translate, less splendidly: 'When Zhi, the Master of Music, began the *luàn* of *Guanju*, how it swelled, filling the ears, indeed!' Alternatively, as observed by Chavannes (1895, 5, 395, n. 4), and with different punctuation (a comma after *shi* 始 'to begin'), one might translate: 'Music Master Zhi's [musical] commencement, and the [final] *luàn* of *Guanju*, how they swelled. . .'; but on balance surely 'the beginning of the *luàn* – of the *Coda* – of *Guanju*' is more likely to be the correct reading, in view of the musical facts, now to be reported.

A melody for the *Guanju* marriage-song survives among the twelve tunes for song-texts from the 'Book of Songs' *Shijing* 詩經, preserved by Zhu Xi 朱熹, in the post-humously printed 'General explanatory notes on commentaries to the "Book of Ritual"' (*Yilijing zhuan tongjie* 儀禮經傳通解) (Picken, 1956). Zhu Xi attributed the tunes to the Kaiyuan reign-period of the Tang (713–41); but there is no evidence that any of the items preserved were ever sung – at state-banquets, for example – during the Tang. In the sequence of songs adopted by Zhu Xi, *Guanju* is seventh, and the first item in a group of six songs in the mode *Wuyi Qingshang* 無射清商. *Wuyi* is the eleventh note in the 12-note series of the pitch-pipes, counting the fundamental as 1. If we accept that the fundamental was *D* in the Tang, *Wuyi* is *C*; and the Lydian, heptatonic set on *C* is *C D E F♯ G A B*. The second-degree, *Shang*-inversion, is then the note-set *D E F♯ G A B C*. The adjective 'pure' *qing* 清 that qualifies the modal name perhaps refers to the fact that pieces in this mode end on the upper octave of the final (as suggested in 1956). (A recent article by He Changlin 何昌林 (1985) suggests, however, that *qing* indicates sharpening of the *Shang*-degree in a pentatonic *Gong*-set on *C*, so that the altered degree now functions as *Gong*, and the original *Gong*-note functions as *Yu* 羽. Proceeding in this way, all five pentatonic modal note-sets could be generated – on the open-strings of a *qin*, for example – within the compass of a ninth or tenth.)

We have, then, a surviving tune for the entire *Guanju* song, set out by Zhu Xi as three stanzas, each ending on the upper octave of the final. The stanzas consist of different numbers of lines of four monosyllabic words: 4, 8, 8, rhyming (as follows) in Karlgren's values (Karlgren, 1950, p. 2) – a line stands for a rhyme-less text-line:

I	II	III
1. *kiôg*	1. _____	1. _____
2. *t̂iôg*	2. *liôg chï*	2. *ts'əg chï*
3. _____	3. _____	3. _____
4. *g'iôg*	4. *g'iôg chï*	4. *giŭg chï*
	5. *tək*	5. _____
	6. *b'iŭk*	6. *mog chï*
	7. _____	7. _____
	8. *tsiək*	8. *glăk chï*

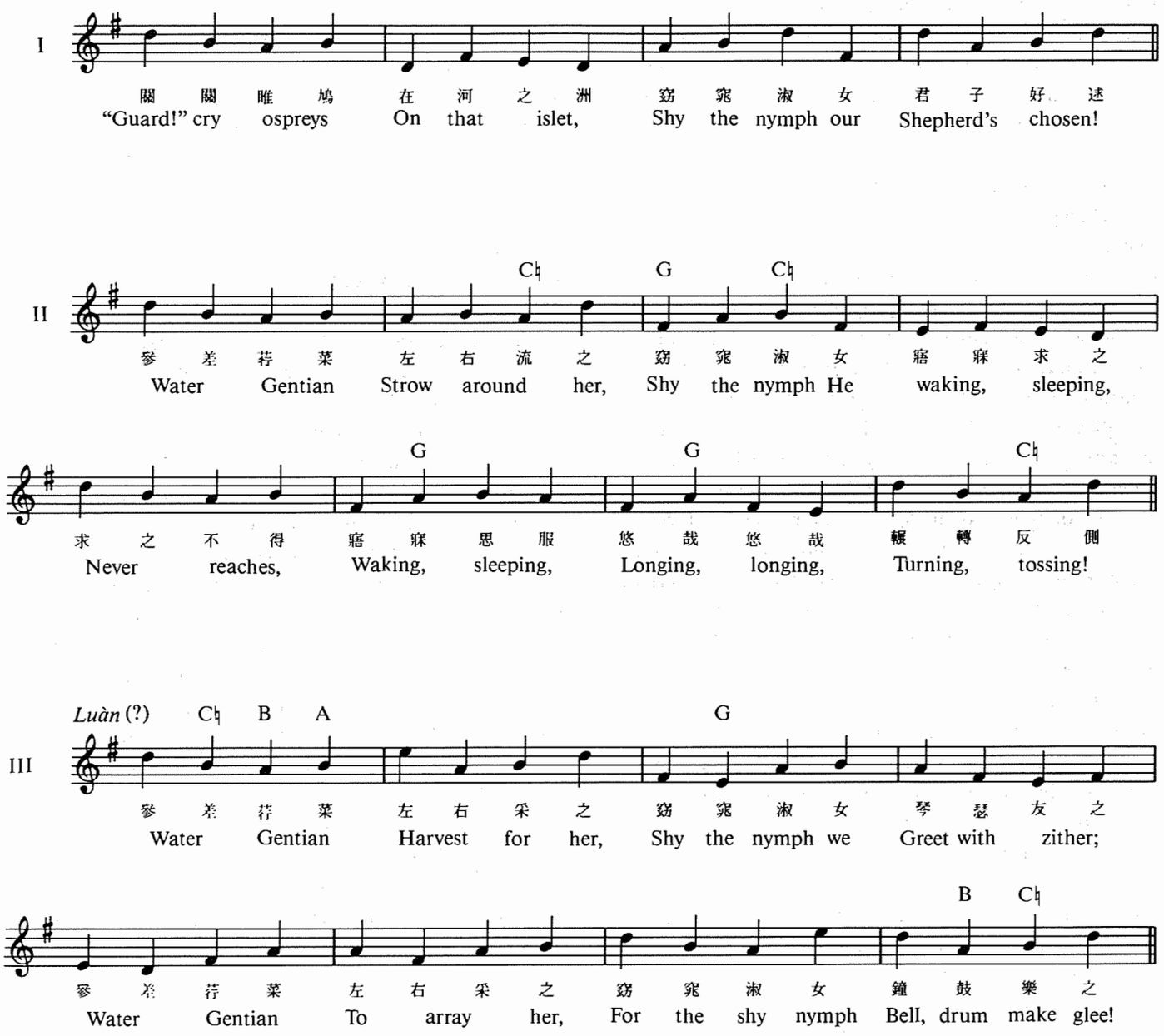
As shown, in six instances, rhymes are antipenultimate syllables, and final syllables are identical. Waley (1937) chose, however, to set out his translation as five stanzas, each of four lines; but Couvreur (1896, 1926) and Soothill (1910) follow the division of the text into the three stanzas (*zhang* 章) of the Mao 毛 text, followed by Zhu Xi. A musical reason for not following Waley's division into five stanzas is that, according to the notation, his stanza II would end on the low final of the tune, and his stanza IV on the mediant. It is to be noted that the first text-line of Stanza II: 'In patches grows the water mallow' (Waley) acts as a refrain, repeated not only as the first line of Stanza III but as the first line of the second quatrain of Stanza III. Furthermore, the second lines of II and III, and of the second quatrain of III, are all variants of each other, so that, in the third stanza, *four* lines are repeats from previous stanzas, and a further two lines differ only in the third monosyllable.

This *summary* character of the text of Stanza III suggests that this third stanza is the text of the famous *luàn* of *Guanju*. Indeed, if Waley's fourth and fifth stanzas are joined, the textual effect of successful climax – the day of marriage arrived at last – is startling. Yet more remarkable is the fact that Zhu Xi's tune for the third stanza has – even for our ears! – the character of a triumphant *Coda*.

[75] Hawkes restores the rhyme with 撰 *dz'iwan* (K. 433) replacing 賦 *piwo* (K. 104g).

[76] 入 not 人?

'"Guard" cry ospreys on that islet'
from Zhu Xi (Picken, 1956, 1957)

This is restored from heptatonic *Shang*-modality to pentatonic *Gong*-modality. The transcription displays the character of the third stanza as a *Coda/Luàn*. Letters above the stave indicate original pitches. The equisyllabic translation is by Mr Arthur Cooper (1973; revised 1986), who permitted use as underlay to the Chinese text from *The Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 詩經).

I
關 關 雎 鳩 在 河 之 洲 窈 窕 淑 女 君 子 好 逑
"Guard!" cry ospreys On that islet, Shy the nymph our Shepherd's chosen!
II
C♮ G C♮
參 差 荇 菜 左 右 流 之 窈 窕 淑 女 寤 寐 求 之
Water Gentian Strow around her, Shy the nymph He waking, sleeping,
G G C♮
求 之 不 得 寤 寐 思 服 悠 哉 悠 哉 輾 轉 反 側
Never reaches, Waking, sleeping, Longing, longing, Turning, tossing!
Luàn (?) C♮ B A G
III
參 差 荇 菜 左 右 采 之 窈 窕 淑 女 琴 瑟 友 之
Water Gentian Harvest for her, Shy the nymph we Greet with zither;
B C♮
參 差 荇 菜 左 右 采 之 窈 窕 淑 女 鐘 鼓 樂 之
Water Gentian To array her, For the shy nymph Bell, drum make glee!

It is to be noted, however, that the late Professor Yang Yinliu (1980; see 上冊, p. 61), disregarding the traditional division of *Guanju* into three stanzas of unequal length (perhaps seeking a more folksong-like structure), and looking at the text as composed of five units, each of four lines of four monosyllabic words, asked: 'Where is the *luàn* of Confucius?' His disarticulation of the text conceals, however, the change in character of the third stanza as compared with the previous two. Yang suggested that the *luàn* was an addition, performed after the five successive song-units had been performed. In adopting such a view, he overlooked, of course, the *musical* character of the third stanza, with its built-in musical climax, in the tune preserved by Zhu Xi.

Should it be objected that the third stanza of *Guanju*, amounting to 40 percent of the length of the entire song (8 out of 20 lines), is too long for a *luàn*, scrutiny of *Chuci-*

texts has shown that this is not so. While the mean value for the length of a *luàn* (five, out of eleven, instances) is 12 percent of the song-text, the *luàn* of 'Sung' *Chang* 唱 in 'Anxious Thoughts' *Chousi* 愁思, (one of the 'Nine Proclamations' 九張) consists of ten lines, in a total of 21=48 percent.

When first transcribing and studying these tunes, in the early fifties, their heptatonic (or at times hexatonic) character seemed to imply that they could not be regarded as compositions much earlier in date than the Tang period; but it was noted, and commented upon, that the tunes are mosaics of pentatonic measures (=musical lines), and of measures that make use of the auxiliaries, and so confirm the Mixolydian character of a *Shang*-mode. In order to restore the melody of Stanza III to the pentatonic condition throughout, however, only four different notes would need to be changed. Change of two of these restores musical lines that appear already in Stanzas I and II. The climactic effect of the second quatrain of Stanza III is then irresistible.

In 1956, the tunes were regarded as Tang imitations of a tune-type known elsewhere in the hymns for offerings in Confucian rites. The case of *Guanju*, however, invites us to consider the possibility that the mosaic character of the melodies preserved by Zhu Xi has arisen from an attempt at partial 'modernisation' of an ancient melodiarium; an attempt to make pentatonic melodies more 'fashionable' by interpolating auxiliaries, as in the heptatonic forms of the modes. A change, in all, of six notes out of 32 (in the instance of the last stanza of *Guanju*) would convert the stanza-melody to a purely pentatonic melody, in which first and last musical lines are the same as in Stanza I. It is to be noted, however, that the mode is not *Shang* (23.56.1) but *Gong* (123.56) – in accordance with what was established in 1956 regarding the real character of *Wuyi Qingshang* modality in the six tunes preserved by Zhu Xi. The climactic ascent of the melodic line in what (it is suggested) is the end of the original *luàn* (measures 4 to 6) is untouched by these alterations: it was already pentatonic.

We suggest, then, *either* that *Guanju* was composed in the Tang by a musician who knew well what was expected of the grand *Coda* that had made such an impression on Confucius, *or* that this *is* the original melody of the song *Guanju*, slightly altered to give it a contemporary modal flavour that would have appealed to a Tang audience. To convert the melody of Stanza III to a pentatonic *Shang*-melody would require much more drastic reshaping, since *F*♯ and *B* would disappear, to be replaced by *G* and *C*.

We have reached the position, then, that we may have, in our hands, a version of the original *Guanju*-melody. Whether original or not, however, we can see that both words and music of Stanza III qualify it to function as *luàn*. We know too that Confucius admired it. How do we proceed from here to the notion of *beginning* a musical performance with a *luàn* – as is, in general, Japanese practice?

The cause of, and justification for, this practice may well have been a statement by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–*c.* 86 BC) in the history of the Kong 孔 family and the life of Confucius (see 'Annals of History' *Shiji* 史記 47, p. 1959; Chavannes, 1895, 5, p. 398):

> Beginning[77] with 'sleeping-mat' [affairs] – hence the saying "*Guanju*'s *luàn*" – he made [this] the beginning of the [*Guo*-]*feng* [Songs of the Principalities]; he made the *Xiaoya* [Lesser Elegancies] begin with 'The stags roar'; he made the *Daya* [Greater Elegancies] begin with 'King Wen'; he made the *Song* [Praise Songs] begin with 'The pure temple'.
> 始於衽席、故曰「關雎之亂以爲風始、鹿鳴爲小雅始、文王爲大雅始、清廟爲頌始」.
>
> [The *Ya* were for Court-, the *Song* for Temple-use.]

The Chinese text is punctuated here as in the Zhonghua shuju edition of 1959; but Chavannes clearly read it as if only '*Guanju*'s *luàn*' were in brackets. The brackets in the edition of 1959 suggest that what comes between them is a dictum of Confucius himself; but it is surely Sima Qian who is playing on the dual meaning of *luàn*, saying, in effect, 'we refer to the 'disorder' of *Guanju* because the song is concerned with 'sleeping-mat' affairs.' What in fact Confucius did (as can be seen from the present order of the *Shijing*-text) was to place the marriage-song, *Guanju, first* in the sequence of *Guofeng*-pieces. The passage in *Shiji* serves to make clear which song-texts marked the beginning of each of the four sections, in the sequence of 305 items that constitute *Shijing* as we now have it. At first reading, however, the passage seems to say that the *luàn* – the summary *Coda* of *Guanju* – *began* the *Guofeng*, in the sense that the *luàn* was used as a prelude to the performance of any of the *Guofeng*-pieces. It might be taken to mean then, that when songs from the *Guofeng* were performed, the *luàn* of *Guanju* served as opening prelude, as *luànxu/Ranjo* 亂序. What Sima Qian was wishing to imply, either seriously or mischievously, was that Confucius began the sequence of *Guofeng*-items with *Guanju* and its *luàn because* it was the least respectable song-text among those of the *Guofeng*, since it had sexual implications.

That Confucius himself had no such feelings of impropriety in regard to the *Guanju* song-text is plain from another statement in 'Analects' iii, 20: 'The Master said: *Ospreys*, though joyful, is not licentious; though moving, is not sad.' 子曰、關雎樂而不淫、哀而不傷. (論語, iii, 20) This statement justifies our reading and translation of the passage from Sima Qian (above), and confirms that the brackets of the edition of 1959 (above) are wrongly inserted, and that the statement thus enclosed is not a 'quotation' from Confucius, but a summary of what he did in sign-posting the four principal divisions of the *Shijing*-text; a bracket after *luàn* would suffice.

If then Sima Qian's text may perhaps be read as implying that the *luàn* of *Guanju* was used as an introduction to items from the *Guofeng*, Zhu Xi's later citation of *Shiji*, in his commentary on the *Analects*-passage (p. 31), quite clearly implies just that. The precise date of his commentary has not been determined, but he is commonly said to have lived from 1130 to 1200. Having stated that Zhi was Music Master of the

[77] Chavannes's citation of this passage (1895, p. 398, n. 4) begins with a typographical error: 如 for 始. That it is a compositor's mistake is shown both by his translation: 'Commençant aux nattes. . .', with no trace of *ru* 如, and by the modern, annotated text, which has no knowledge of such a variant.

State of Lu, and that a *luàn* is the final section of a piece of music, Zhu Xi then continues: 'The *Annals of History* state: "With the *luàn* of *Guanju* he made the beginning of the *Feng*" *or* "he began the *Feng*". 史記日關雎之亂以爲風始. Ambiguity arises from the meaning of 'to begin'. As we have seen, the passage originally meant no more than that *Guanju* was the first item in the listing of the *Guofeng*; but 'begin' could also mean 'to begin to perform', as it means in the passage from the *Analects* (viii, 15; see p. 28). Zhu Xi's reading (or misreading) of Sima Qian shows that such misinterpretation was possible. It is certain, however, that Japanese readers of Chinese were not misled by Zhu Xi, since the term *Ranjō* occurs already in *RMS* (1133). The term *Rangaku* 乱樂 occurs in *WMRJS*, but as previously noted the date of the relevant section of this dictionary is as yet unknown (Fascicle 3, p. 31).

It would seem, then, that the enthusiasm of Confucius for the *luàn* of *Guanju*, together with Sima Qian's word-play, in his statement about the markers subdividing the *Shijing*-text into sections, led to the notion that a grand preface to a piece of ritual music was a *luàn*. Japanese readers undoubtedly knew of the existence of *Shiji/Shiki* by the date of compilation of *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* (Fascicle 3, p. 8). The catalogue lists a *Shiki* in 80 chapters (and a *Rongo/Lunyu* in 10).

Japanese readers, however, knew only the 'disorder'-meaning of the word *luàn*, the meaning that had become the only meaning in Post-Han China, save in musical contexts.

RMS uses both *Ranjo/Luanxu* and *Ranjō/Luansheng*, but the latter is the term that occurs with higher frequency; indeed the term *Ranjo* seems only to be used in the context of *Ryō-ō*, where, however, the term *Ranjō* also occurs (see p. 12).

It is suggested then: that the use of a *Ranjō* (occasionally *Ranjo*) as a prefatory musical statement arose in imitation of what Sima Qian appeared to suggest was the practice of Confucius: to begin a performance of an item of ritual music with a *Ran/Luàn*. Notwithstanding the reported sublimity of the *Ran/Luàn* of *Guanju* (according to Confucius), to the Japanese it appeared necessary, however, at some stage, to provide a musical image of disorder. Japanese musicians achieved this by playing the melody of a *Ran* in canon with itself.

We have throughout chosen *not* to translate *Ran* in its musical compounds as 'disordered', since this would contradict the primary meaning of *Luàn* in its ancient musical sense. Instead the canonical treatment has been characterised as 'Free', since the three flutes are no longer constrained by the otherwise all-prevailing rule of synchronicity.

We can now better interpret the use of the terms *Ranjo* and *Ranjō* in the context of *Ryō-ō*. The *Ama Ranjō* (Shiba 4, pp. 188–91) is the piece *Amma* in the form of a *Free Tune* (*Ranjō/Luansheng* 乱聲); while the *Ranjo/Luanxu* 乱序 (*Free Prelude*) to *Ryō-ō* (*Ryō-ō no Ranjo*) is an original piece, an original Prelude, rendered 'Free' by quasi-canonical treatment, a musical simulacrum of *Ran*.

Some six months after completing this study of *Ran/Luan*, L.E.R.P. chanced upon an article by Gamō Mitsuko 蒲生美津子, 'A study of *Ranjō*' (*Ranjō shōkō* 乱聲小考, 1986). Her discussion of the composition of the lexigraph 亂 is inadequate. She seems not to know that *ran/luan* ever had a musical significance in China, and she herself, from the *Shujing* (p. 243) tag:[78] 'Of governing servants, I have ten men' 予有亂臣十人, devises an original meaning for 亂聲 as 'music governing Heaven, Earth, and Man'. Yet she still elects to translate 乱声 (*ibid.*, 1986, p. 819) as "confused voices" (would she then translate *Ranjo* 乱序 as "confused Prelude(s)"?)

In China, the term *luan* survived in musical contexts even into the Ming dynasty. It occurs in pieces in the great Song dynasty collection of song-texts, *Yuefu shiji*; and the vast 7-stringed-zither piece, *Guangling san*, from *Quxian shenqi mipu* (1425) (Fascicle 2, p. 100), ends with a designated *Luansheng* – precisely, a *Ranjō*!

In the light of this discussion, it is evident that only a musically and historically educated Chinese will have known what the terms *luan/ran* 亂 and *luan sheng/ranjō* 亂聲 meant, namely: 'Coda' and 'Coda-Tune'. It is plain that the Japanese believed that *Ran* was a kind of Prelude used – as Sima Qian appeared to state, citing the example of Confucius in setting in order 'The Book of Songs' – as introduction to music of the status of *Gagaku/Yayue*, the status (for the Japanese) of all *Tōgaku*. From this followed Japanese use of the terms '*Ran*-Tune' and '*Ran*-Prelude'. Nevertheless, both terms are nonsensical for any piece serving as an 'Introduction', whether we use 'Coda-Tune' or 'Coda-Prelude'. Since the terms cannot possibly be a reflection of Chinese use (the Chinese ancient *luan* was a Coda), it is highly probable that the music to which these titles are attached was created in Japan. The music is as likely to be Japanese as is undoubtedly this mistaken application of an ancient Chinese musical term to a practice incompatible with its original Chinese meaning. In the light of linguistic and historical evidence only, the music of *Ranjō* and *Ranjo*, however qualified by terms such as 'Old music', 'New music', 'Champa', '*Ryō-ō*', etc., is likely to have been devised in Japan and was established as a practice by the date of reconsecration of the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji in 861. This music could not have been devised in China under either of these titles: *Ranjō* or *Ranjo*.

Dance-gestures in the Free-Tune *and the dance to the* Wild Prelude

While *RMS* mentions only 'Greater knee-rolling' *Ō-hizamaki* おほひざまき, and 'Lesser knee-rolling' *Ko-hizamaki* こひざまき, as special dance-gestures, peculiar to the *Free-Tune*, *KKS* (1, 17) lists seven gestures: 'Sun-cut-off turning-gesture', 'Flying-baton turning-gesture', 'Green-dragonfly turning-gesture', 'Running-to-the-corner gesture', 'Saunter-

[2] 'The Book of Documents' (*Shujing* 書經, *Tai shi zhong* 泰誓中): 'Of governing servants, I have ten men, like in mind, like in virtue' 予有亂臣十人、同心同德.

ing turning-gesture', 'Greater knee-rolling', 'Lesser knee-rolling' 日掻返手。[桴飛手。] 蜻蛉返手。 角走手。 遊返手。 大膝巻。小膝巻。The first of these latter suggests that the *Free-Tune* Dance may have been, in part, a pantomime, echoing the legendary turning-back of the sun (p. 7); the meaning of this, and other gestures, in dance-terms is unknown.

The manner of performance of the chant (*saezuri/zhuan* 囀) remains obscure. *RMS* does not refer to this at all, recording merely that the *Shinjo* is danced to, briefly, after the *saezuri* (p. 13). *KKS* (1, p. 18) first states that it is performed twice, between *Free-Tune* and *Angry Prelude*, but later states that it is performed 'three times; formerly seven times, however, but not used today' 囀三度。昔七度アリケレドモ、今世ニハモチキズ。(*KKS*, 1, p. 18). 'When performed three times the chant is danced to' 三度囀手舞事狛光時之流外、他無人不知之。'But dancers other than those of Koma no Mitsutoki's School do not know this.' Eckardt adds a comment, absent from the *Nihon shisō taikei* text of *KKS*; translated from the German it reads: 'It is said: one dances it turning to the Four Cardinal Directions. It is used particularly in the *Wild Prelude* for the Eight Cardinal Directions.'

If dancing to the chant was performed in this manner, the question arises: was the chant sung, at some period to the melody of the *Wild Prelude*, of which a number of versions survive (p. 17)? As has been seen (p. 13), the prefaces in *JCYR* and *RSCY* state that the chant is recited (*un* 云).

The *Wild Prelude* is described as consisting of eight Sections (*jo* 帖), and with eight bass-drum beats. The music of the *Wild Prelude*, which survives in what is evidently a corrupt condition, consists of eight drum-beat periods, each of which tends towards a length of eight binary units. This structure is clearly what the descriptions in *RMS* and *KKS* lead us to expect. Plainly, however, no simple arithmetical relationship could exist between these dimensions and the ten, four-lexigraph-lines of the chant-text (p. 12). Very remarkably, two different dance-scores for the *Wild Prelude* are preserved in the thirteenth-century collection of such scores: *Shōchū-yōroku hikyoku* 掌中要録秘曲 (*Zoku-gunsho-ruijū*, 530, pp. 420–36; see pp. 434–6) written in 1263. Strangely, however, no dance-score for the surviving Broaching is preserved in this same collection. At least twice, in these two dance-scores for the *Wild Prelude*, mention is made of the 'Greater knee-rolling' (above).

A curious feature of the Sections of which the *Wild Prelude* is composed is: that they are no longer than what have hitherto been discriminated as 'drum-beat periods', in previous discussions of the structure of *senza-misura*, *tempo-giusto* Preludes (Fascicles 1–3 *passim*). *KKS* refers to two ways of performing *Kōjo*: 'The two-four-eight version' in which two Sections are danced towards the North, East, West, and South, finishing facing towards North. The text adds that this is the practice 'of these days'. The second manner of performance: 'eight directions, eight returns' begins with one Section danced towards North; next a Section towards the Northwest; and so on. Here the compass is boxed counterclockwise; whereas in the first version the points of the compass are reached in the sequence: N→E→W→S – a sequence recalling the patterns of certain Daoist dances.

KKS (1, p. 18) again refers to 'secret gestures' in the context of the Wild Prelude: 'the Beard-grasping gesture' *Higetoru te* 髭取手, and 'turning on the heel' *Kubisu-mawashi* 踵廻, adding that 'each of these is to be used [in the *Angry Prelude*] when the *Wild Prelude* is danced' 各荒序舞時用之. (It is plain, however, that, by the time of Chikazane, the *Angry Prelude* was widely believed to have been forgotten.)

Reverting to the manner of performance of the *chant*, the mention of its *sevenfold* repetition, in the earliest summary *scenario*, attributed to Prince Sadayasu in the preface to *JCYR* (p. 12), invites the notion of correlation with the *eight* Sections of the *Wild Prelude*, and successive, apotropaeic, dance-with-recitation sequences executed towards the points of the compass, in specified order.

The documented history of *Ryō-ō* and the nature of traditional historiography in China and Japan

It will surprise many readers that the handbooks of the *Gagaku*-tradition in Japan: *GKR*, *TGS*, *KKS*, and *RMS*, for example, include no serious examination of early Chinese sources relating to *Tōgaku*-items. Nor is there any internal evidence that any editor, subsequent to Koma no Chikazane, re-examined such Chinese sources as are mentioned in *KKS*; later editors quoted from their predecessors. What is more, they quoted their predecessors' citations from Chinese sources without referring to the sources themselves. Four Chinese compilations are at least occasionally referred to and quoted from: *JTS*, *THY*, *TD*, and at times much later works, such as *WXTK*; but it was not necessary for a Japanese editor to go to the Chinese original. Nor was it necessary for a Chinese editor to do so; and it would seem likely that all references to Northern Qi and the history of the King of Lanling, in Chinese compilations from the eighth century onwards, were copied from one editor to another, without the *Northern History* (*Beishi*) biography of Changgong ever being read.

What at times gives the Japanese handbooks particular value is their recording of historical facts relating to performance or performances, or to traditions relating to transmission and subsequent use. This is abundantly clear when the texts of different handbooks are juxtaposed, as done by Eckardt (in translation) in his study of the *KKCMJ*; and this same method of presentation confirms what has just been said concerning the virtual absence of any scholarly Japanese enquiry into the early history in China of items from the *Tōgaku*-repertory.

Lest this summary statement be regarded as partial in emphasis, it should be recorded that Korean musical historiography, in so far as it relates to matters Chinese, also suffers (to some extent) from the same limitations. It is evident that Korean use of citations from Chinese sources – in general more copious than that of the Japanese handbooks in *their* sphere – reverts to citations in their own historical compilations. They do not, in general, refer to the Chinese sources as they exist today, and they appear to be unaware, or indifferent to, textual discrepancies between the two kinds of text.

All this is merely an expression of a fundamentally different approach to the writing of history in East Asia and in the West. As first discussed in detail by Charles S. Gardner,[79] *historical* criticism (in contrast to *textual* criticism), as known today in East and West alike, did not begin to evolve among Chinese historians until the seventeenth and eighteenth, and (conspicuously) in the twentieth, centuries. Chinese historical criticism of earlier times (and this applies equally to the Japanese handbooks) aims 'to attain categorical affirmation'[80] rather than a statement of probability. 'Every statement which is not contradicted is entitled to acceptance'. From 'the Chinese conception of history as an impersonal record of events'. . . it follows 'that any historical account'. . .'is divorced from any idea of proprietorship by its author. Verbatim reproduction of. . .earlier historians. . .is to be regarded not as plagiarism, but as the natural and reasonable process by which new histories. . .should be constructed. Historical writing. . .involves. . .compilation of choice selections from earlier works.'[81]

It is for this reason that the Japanese handbooks are able to contribute almost nothing to knowledge of the early history of *Tōgaku*-items as recorded in the earliest Chinese sources. And this same attitude persisted among some Japanese 'historians' in quite recent times. Tanabe Hisao's notes[82] on items in the *Tōgaku*-repertory are largely abridgements of statements in the handbooks. A conspicuous exception among musicologists is Professor Kishibe Shigeo whose sinological and historical scholarship are widely recognised and esteemed. Elsewhere, however, an attitude of antiquarianism at times prevails; 'facts' are accumulated without any attempt at critical examination or synthesis. Even today, *TD* – one of the first Chinese compilations from the Tang (along with *Huiyao*, that is *THY*) to come to the attention of the Japanese – can be advanced as a source anterior to which historical enquiry need not be pressed.

[79] *Chinese traditional historiography*, Harvard Historical Monographs, ll, 1938, 1961.

[80] Gardner, 1961, p. 64.

[81] *ibid.*, p. 70.

[82] Tanabe Hisao 田辺尚雄: *Nihon ongaku kōwa* 日本音樂講話

Appendix 1: The Repertoire in Review: Conflations & Consequent Expositions (N.J.N.)

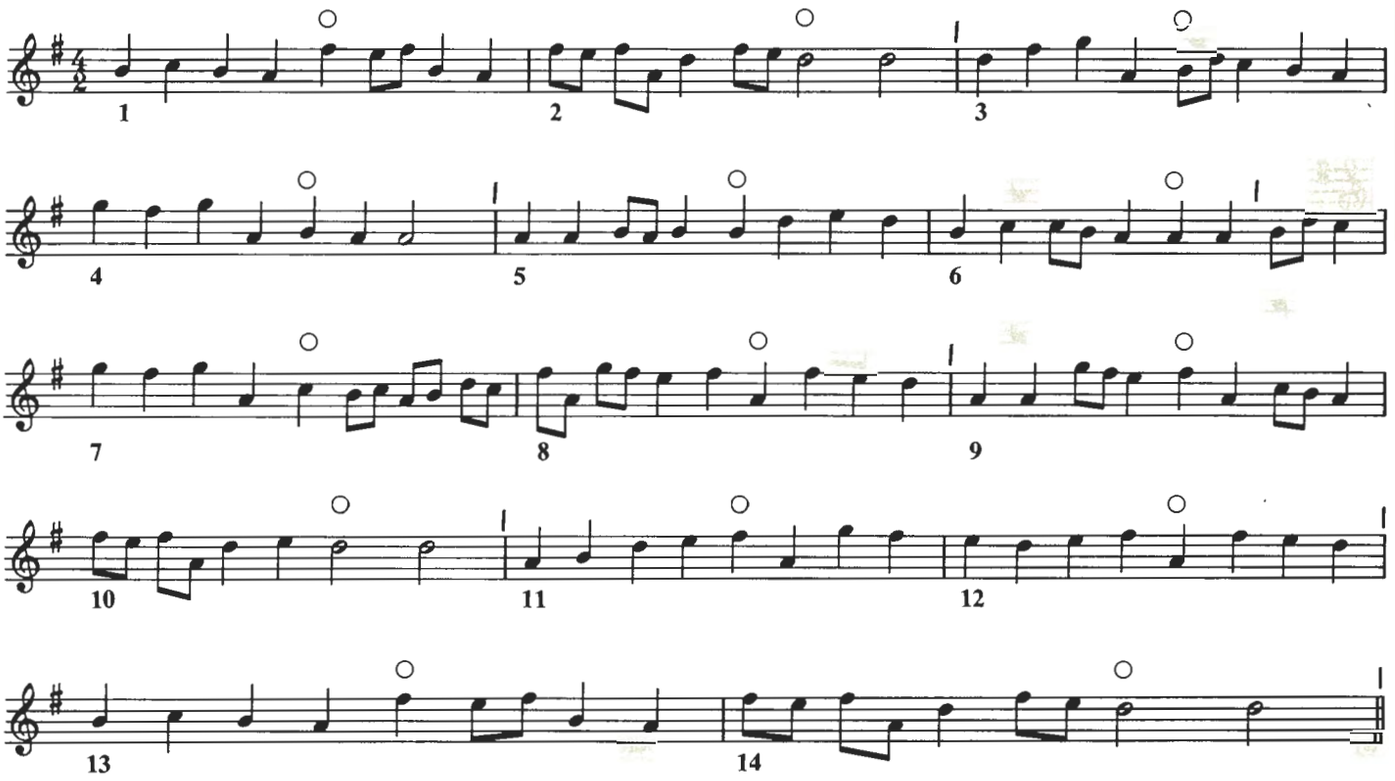
The first four fascicles of *Music from the Tang Court* have brought to light in Western notation over twenty named items of allegedly Chinese music absorbed into the Japanese court-music tradition. All these pieces are extinct in China, and some have not been heard in Japan for hundreds of years. Their discovery and publication in the series have fertilised a new area of musicological research and restoration worthy of, and suitable for, rigorous study and aesthetic satisfaction; and the territory is growing. Within the list of twenty-three titles currently available are over forty individual pieces of music, from single melodies to those in instrumental suites of up to six movements. The present study attempts to discern some of the intrinsic qualities and features of the popular court tunes of Tang China, through observing their technical skills, modal characteristics, and musical ideas. The purpose of the exercise is to discover the nature of this music in terms of itself and its traditions. The method adopted is to present all the items from Fascicles 3 and 4 in conflations, as examples of musical repertoire, and to discuss technical and stylistic points of interest as they emerge in the course of study. The music of the three suites in the first two fascicles has been analysed in Fascicles 2 and 3, and reference to these analyses may be useful when considering those pieces that now follow.

It must be said at the outset, as a reminder, that all the music so far presented in the series is in the first Japanese Tang-music mode. The present enquiry is therefore restricted to music of the same modal genre, and to pieces written in the same scale for all instruments. Despite their strong social and musical affinities, revealing an interesting diversity of styles and features, the melodies retain their intrinsic vitality and charm to the present day.

Each of the pieces for discussion and analysis will be introduced by a one-stave conflation in Western notation, constructed from the previously published materials, and written in the standard mouth-organ (*shō*) scale. The only qualification of this is the lack of a *c″*-natural pipe in the construction of the instrument, which caused mouth-organ players, and scribes of mouth-organ manuscripts, to adopt the pitch and tablature of *c‴* whenever the *c″-natural* was required. For convenience and from practical considerations, the scale adopted here is seven conjunct notes of a Mixolydian octave-set, with *d″* as final, which (in the case of the mouth-organ) functions from *a′*, rising to *g″*. The reasons for choosing the mouth-organ as the common standard are: (1) it has the simplest written range; (2) compared with other instrumental versions, the mouth-organ version is technically less embellished; (3) the invariance in pitch of the individual reed-pipes; and (4) the prefaces to many of the notated items in the great string-collections of Fujiwara no Moronaga quite frequently record the names of mouth-organ players and quote passages in mouth-organ tablature in support of readings in the string-versions. In some instances there has been no reason to depart from the mouth-organ versions as transcribed in the scores in staff-notation; in other instances, however, decisions have, of necessity been made, to reconcile differences and lapses between the various instrumental versions of the same item.

The principles on which the conflations have been constructed are the same as those adopted earlier for *Ō-dai hajin-raku* (see Fascicle 2, p. 72), and *Shunnō-den* and

Toraden (Fascicle 3, p. 69). In the following pages, explanatory comment is offered, where clarification of decisions, in constructing the conflations, was thought necessary. Analyses generally refer to forms and structures of the pieces, and to characteristics of the mode and scale within the common mode-key. The tunes are presented in the same order as in the fascicles; and their qualities are revealed as musical, ingenious and entertaining.

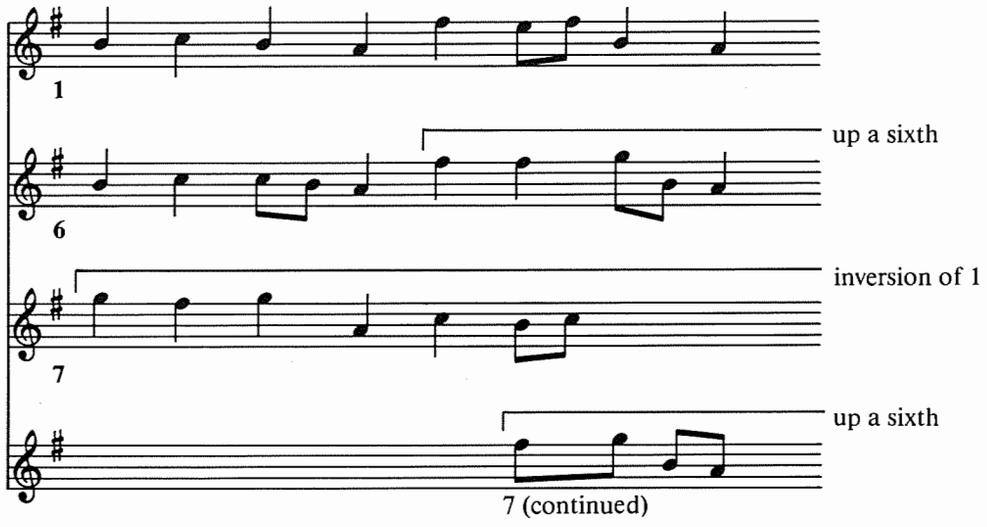
4 *Gyokuju gotei-ka/ Yushu houting hua* 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom'

The conflation follows the mouth-organ tradition closely. Several aspects of the form of the piece have been discussed in Fascicle 4 (p. 134), where an attempt was made to determine just what are the '*quasi*-prelude' or 'prelude-like' portions of this item, to which the descriptive prefaces refer in relation to the composition and the method of performing it. The full performance originally consisted of the same tune, played eight times, each time through being called a Section of the whole work. The recorded directions for correct playing dictate that certain parts of the Sections, identified in the prefaces by number-references to Sections and measures, are to be played in specified manners of performance, and these parts are consequently important in deciding how the Japanese heard a Chinese tune, and perhaps what information had reached them from the continent to the West about its performance. Unfortunately, records are neither clear enough, nor complete enough, to resolve some of the uncertainties. At the present time, the form of the composition as a whole can be recognised simply as a tune played eight times, with three different styles of playing called for, which may have bearing on instrumentation, tempo and rhythm, affecting the execution of the music, and hence the profile of its form. Laying inconclusive investigations aside, the melody itself has a well-designed construction.

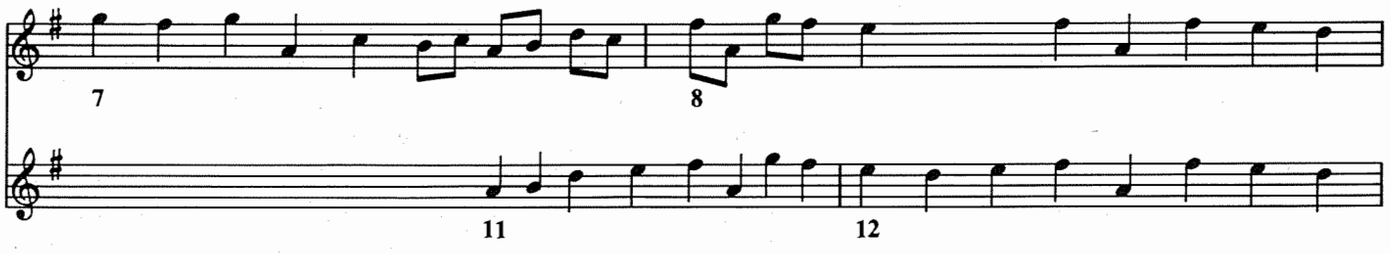
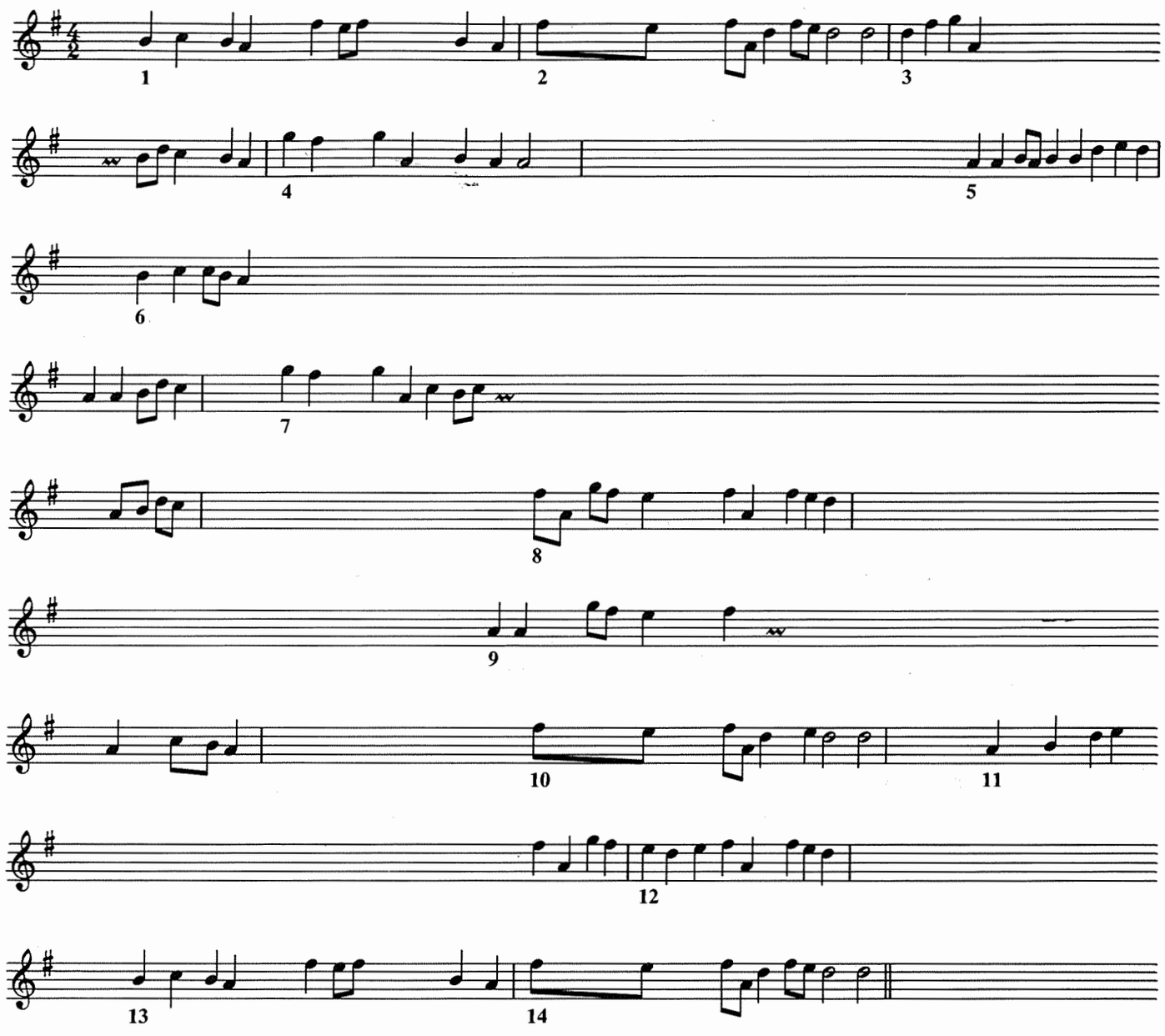
The tune consists of fourteen measures of eight beats, the first two measures returning as the last two. With repetitions, the idea of a refrain can be imagined, particularly since the first two measures are dropped after the first time through, leaving a repeating tune of an even twelve measures. These twelve divide into two sets, or stanzas, of six measures each, which subdivide further into three sets of two measures, in each half of the tune; the divisions and sub-divisions are clarified musically by firm cadences, on the final or its dominant, every eight binary-beats. Such a cadence appears in all except one place, namely, measure 6; but the convincing reconstruction from the instrumental melody, of a simple vocal line which comfortably fits the Chen Houzhu lyric of six text-lines, each line of seven lexigraphs (see Fascicle 3, p. 19), shows that a dominant cadence is present in measure 6, beneath the instrumental elaboration. The *ichi*-sign (–) (rendered in the scores by a short vertical line above the stave) after the sixth beat, in both of the string versions (Fascicle 3, p. 13), is evidence that Japanese musicians were aware of this.

Cadence-patterns simplify the formal structure: measures 8, 10, 12 and 14, cadence on the final; measures 4 and 6 cadence on the dominant. The last two beats of measure 6 illustrate a kind of 'filler', introduced and adopted sometimes by master-musicians of outstanding reputation when, for

instance, a tune survives long after the text has lapsed, and ornamental affectations creep in, where originally only long or repeated notes were required. Here, at an intermediate cadence, leading to a final cadence in measure 8, neither the basic form of the melody, nor the structure of the stanza, is disturbed by the added melodic continuity. The order of cadence-notes every two measures, from measures 3 to 14, is *a*, *a*, *d*, and *d*, *d*, *d*, and all cadences on the dominant and mode-final are recognisable cadence-formulae.

Formulaic analysis shows that the melody grows from the note-patterns of the first (and last) two measures. Admitting transpositions and mirrors of formulae, measures 6 and 7 are transposed variants of measure 1.



But there are many more easily identifiable likenesses, without drawing on more sophisticated technical skills. Measures 11 and 12 are a splendid outgrowth of measures 7 and 8, particularly if the dominant is placed in the upper octave to peak the two curves, as is seen in the zither-version in the transcribed score (Fascicle 3, p. 15).

A complete melodic analysis by formulae demonstrates the concise texture and craftsmanship of the composition. The melody is primarily pentatonic, with *g* and *c*, the fourth and seventh of the mode-key set, acting the roles of traditional *bian* or auxiliary notes. Analysis demonstrates the compact nature of the composition. Repeating seven times (measures 3 to 14), after the initial time through (measures 1 to 14), a total of 392 binary beats (784 quarter-note beats) is the time-length of a full performance.

Several other *Tōgaku* tunes of twelve and fourteen measures will be seen later in this modal group.

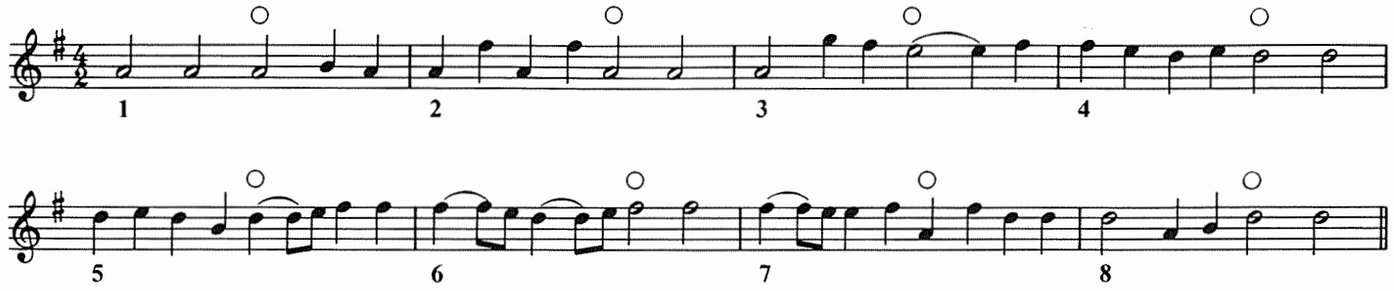
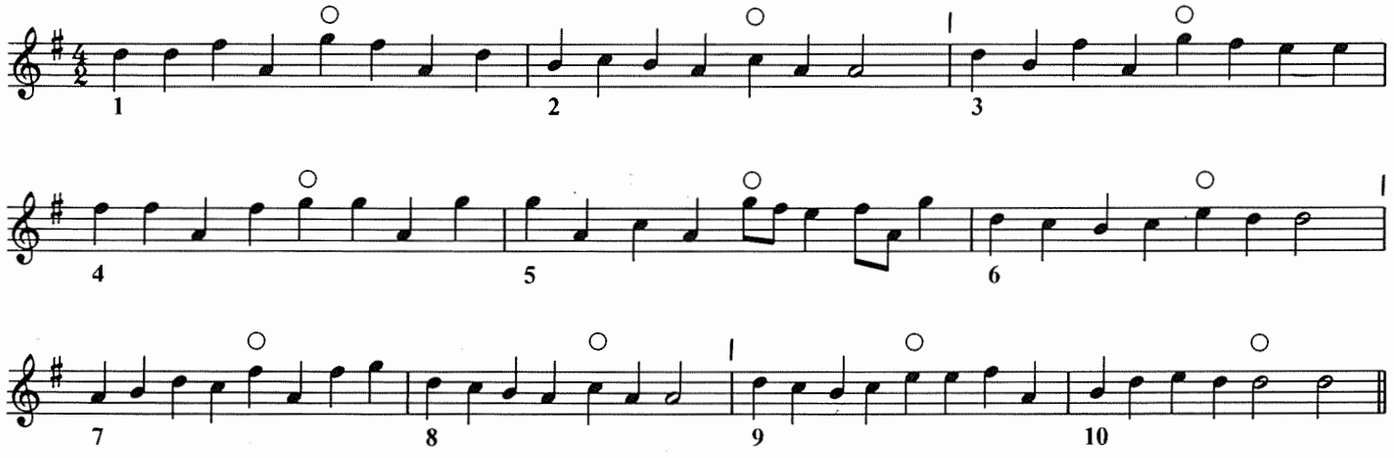
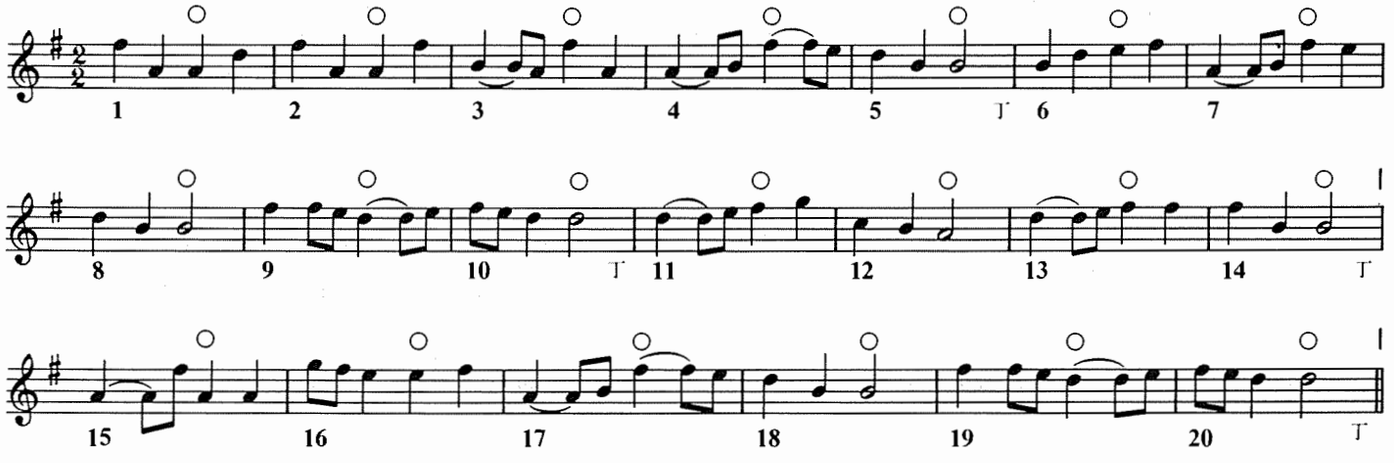
5 *Katen/Hedian* 'The Palace of Congratulations'

Katen has the attributes of a suite, although the Japanese list it as a 'middle-sized' piece (that is, not as a *daikyoku*, a 'large piece', as the earlier suites are classified). Moreover, it is almost certainly a pastiche. The Chinese title does not occur in Chinese sources, nor is *Jiaxiang yue/Kashōraku*, the alternative title of the Broaching-movement, known in China. There is no Prelude, but the Quick of 'The Bird' (*Tori*, the next item to be discussed) was borrowed by the Japanese to accompany entrance and exit of the dancers in *Katen*. Two movements bear the name *Katen*, the Broaching and the Quick; but the complete music-and-dance suite consists of four movements, of which first and last are the same. The form of the suite as recorded in Japan is thus:

1. Way-Walking *Michiyuki*, the Quick of 'The Bird';
2. Broaching *Katen no Ha*, also known in Japan as *Kashōraku* ('Music of *Auspicious Omen*');
3. Quick *Katen no Kyū*, brought from China;
4. Way-Walking repeated.

Only the Quick is known certainly to have come from China; but the movement from 'The Bird' may also have done so. The pieces have the genial humour of festive occasions, raised by the strength and frequency of the notes of the major chord of the mode-key, and the binary beats moving predictably in measures of two and four.

The conflations of the movements follow closely the transcriptions from *KF/HSFRK*. Disparities between the versions are small and individual, and the Toyohara-tradition of the first mouth-organ version has been allowed to carry slightly more weight (Fascicle 2, p. 72).

1. Way-Walking

2. Broaching

3. Quick

The Way-Walking relies on a strong relationship between the mediant and its final. The dominant is not sounded after the first two measures, except twice, close to the end. The energy generated from the three notes: *d*–*e*–*f*♯, is found also in the Quick. The strength of the mediant is maintained throughout, equal to that of the final. Application of a weighted-scale formula, based on note-durations, numbers of occurrences of notes, and of initial and final notes of each measure, shows both *d* and *f*♯ in advance of the dominant, with *e* the centre of the mediant/final tension. Similar two-note tensions are present between mediant/dominant, and dominant/final.

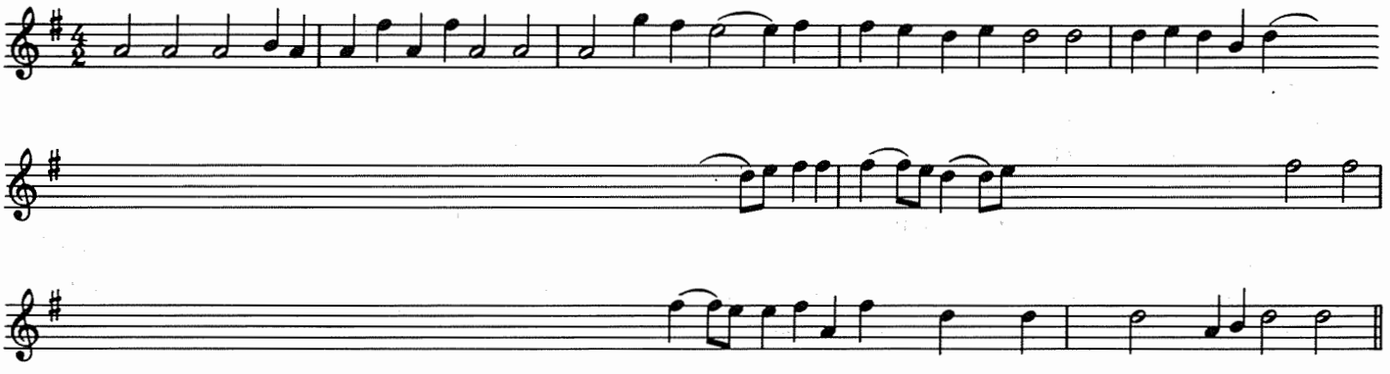
a	*b*	*d*	*e*	*f*♯	*g*
33	6	37	19	37	2

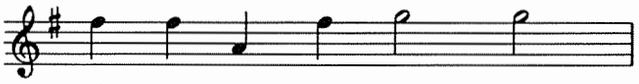
The very light weight of *b* and *g* in this melody is interesting in view of traditional theory: in the basic Chinese *Gongdiao* on *c* (for example), *f♯* and *b* are the two auxiliaries (*bian*) of the scale; and in the *Shangdiao*, in the mode-key on *d*, an inversion of the basic scale on *c*, the same notes would be retained as auxiliaries. The Way-Walking is in the *Shangdiao* in the mode-key on *d*. The mediant is certainly not acting as auxiliary, although *b* could be so regarded. If the scale of this tune is not approached as an inversion of the basic scale, but as a transposition of it, the weight on *d*, *f♯* and *a*, would be expected and justified; but what of *g* and *c*, the transposed auxiliary notes? As they are almost entirely absent, there is much to be said in support of the view that the mode is essentially a transposition of the basic pentatonic scale up one degree, functioning fully, as here, on *d–e–f♯–a–b*.

A melody such as this is deceiving in its simplicity. Taken phrase by phrase, and using the same data to support in figures the logic of its growth, the whole melody is seen (and heard) as the summation of its parts. The numerical entry of the cadence-note of each phrase is shown here in bold type:

	a	*b*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–2	**25**	2	–	–	4	–
3–4	4	–	**9**	9	8	2
5–6	–	2	12	6.5	**16.5**	–
7–8	4	2	**16**	3.5	8.5	–
Measures 1–8	33	6	37	19	37	2

This melody is characteristic of some of the short pieces of the 'new' style of Chinese court-entertainment music that seems to have appeared early in the seventh century. The formulae are simple and almost entirely within the first five notes of the scale of the mode-key.

Formulaic Analysis of the Way-Walking

The Broaching, a tune of ten measures, is not an unusual length, as will be demonstrated later in five of the melodies under examination. An interesting question for today is: how did Japanese musicians phrase this piece in the past? One can hear that ten one-measure phrases are possible, and five two-measure phrases are more feasible. However, those musicians who wrote the string versions for both of Moronaga's great compilations marked *ichi*-signs in the manuscripts in tablature after measures 2, 6, 8 and 10; and this is what most of us would have said the phrasing should be, if natural musicality were allowed to decide the matter.

The meaning of the *ichi*-sign in *JCYR* and *SGYR* may not have been finally settled, but of all possible interpretations, that of phrase-indicator is most likely, since the sign usually occurs at cadence-points. Evidence to support this view, in the case of this melody, is that the same cadence-formulae are repeated in measures 2 and 8, and in measures 6 and 10; and in the present form of the tune's existence, a cadence-effect or formula is not realised through measures 3 to 5. Removing the seventh note in measure 4 as an appoggiatura of a kind common throughout all this music, and standing for the following conjunct note, one arrives at a possible point of phrase definition, and a standard, sub-dominant cadence-formula (see Fascicle 2, p. 87) emerges:

measure 4

But such a suggestion can have no substance in present circumstances, since all other cadences are firmly defined in formulae and rhythm and are re-inforced by the *ichi*-signs of the authentic records, absent from the end of measure 4.

Recognition of a cadence at this point may, however, have some substance after all at this point, since *ichi*-signs are present in the transcription of the Variant Broaching (Fascicle 3, p. 25), the secondary version of Moronaga's choice, a variation in *gakubyoshi* time and rhythm, after the first note of measure 5, with its *ka* 火 'fire' instruction. In executing *gakubyōshi* (see R.F.W., Fascicle 4, p. 121), each melody-note on an even-numbered beat is repeated, with or without embellishment, on the next odd-numbered beat. If a per-

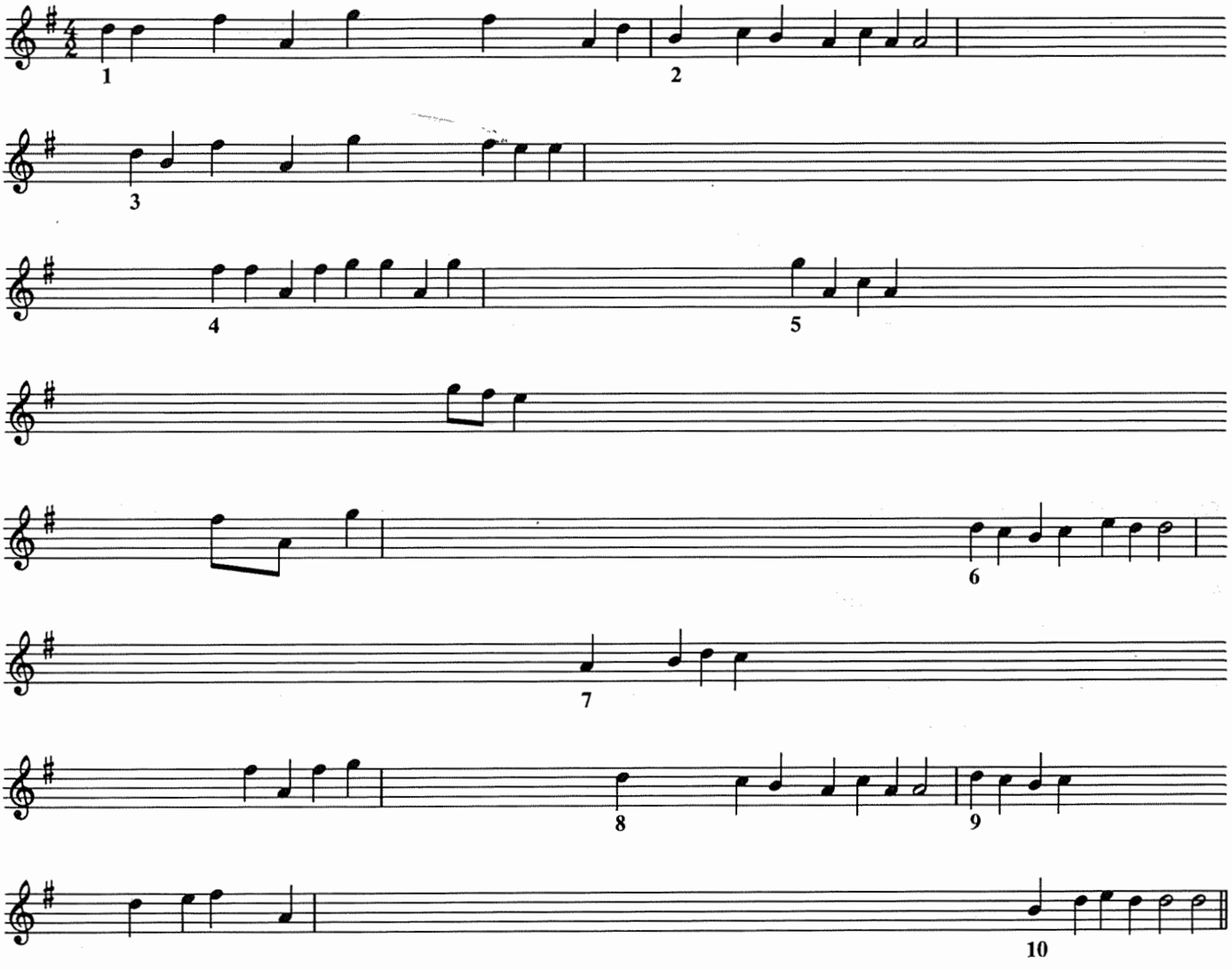
forming tradition of the Broaching upheld the presence of a cadence at the end of measure 4, the dragging repetitions of *gakubyōshi*-performance would delay its effective completion until the first note of measure 5. The Variant Broaching, with an *ichi*-sign at this point, precisely exemplified this practice. All other cadences are firmly defined with standard formulae and rhythm. Continuing the analysis, the conflation follows the four primary sources.

The structure of the Broaching is brought out by the four cadence-formulae on *a*, *d*, *a*, *d*, in phrase-lengths of 2+4+2+2 measures. Taken phrase by phrase, the figures of the weighted-scale formula show the tonal tensions swinging to and fro, from dominant to final.

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–2	**12**	5	4	8	–	4	2
3–6	11.5	4	6	**12**	9	14	16.5
7–8	**13**	4	6	5	–	4	3
9–10	3	5	4	**14**	6	2	–
Measures 1–10	39.5	18	20	39	15	24	21.5

The first and third phrases are similar in data-results, with the dominant outweighing the final even more heavily in measures 7 and 8. The doubled length of the second phrase, with its higher figure, concentrates activity from *d* through to *a*, with quite dramatic focus on the third and fourth of the scale – notes that are almost dismissed from the remainder of the melody. The prominence of the mediant and sub-dominant in the centre of the tune is aurally arresting, a prominence due not only to their frequent occurrence, but also to the melodic formula that lands on the sub-dominant as last note in the measure, in measures 4, 5 and 7. As the dominant and mode-final cadence-formulae are standard, so too are the three sub-dominant-formulae, variants of a basic *f♯*+*a*+*g* pattern. The melody is active throughout the heptatonic scale, with three measure-finals on each of the mode-final, the dominant, and the sub-dominant, and with one on the superfinal.

Further observations on this piece concern, first, the high weighting of the auxiliary notes. The two pairs of *bian*, *b* and *f♯*, and *c* and *g*, together account for 47 percent of the maximum weight of the melody. The five strongest notes in the scale are *d*, *f♯*, *g*, *a* and *c*, which do not spell *either* the pentatonic scale of the *Gong* mode-key transposed to *d*, *or* the *Shang* mode-key on *d*, operating as an inversion of a basic *Gong* mode-key on *c*. The comparative prominence of both *f♯* and *g*, and *b* and *c*, form the second observation: the two half-tone intervals, theoretically not found in any position or inversion of a *Gong* pentatonic scale at any pitch, are not only present, but are conspicuously evident.

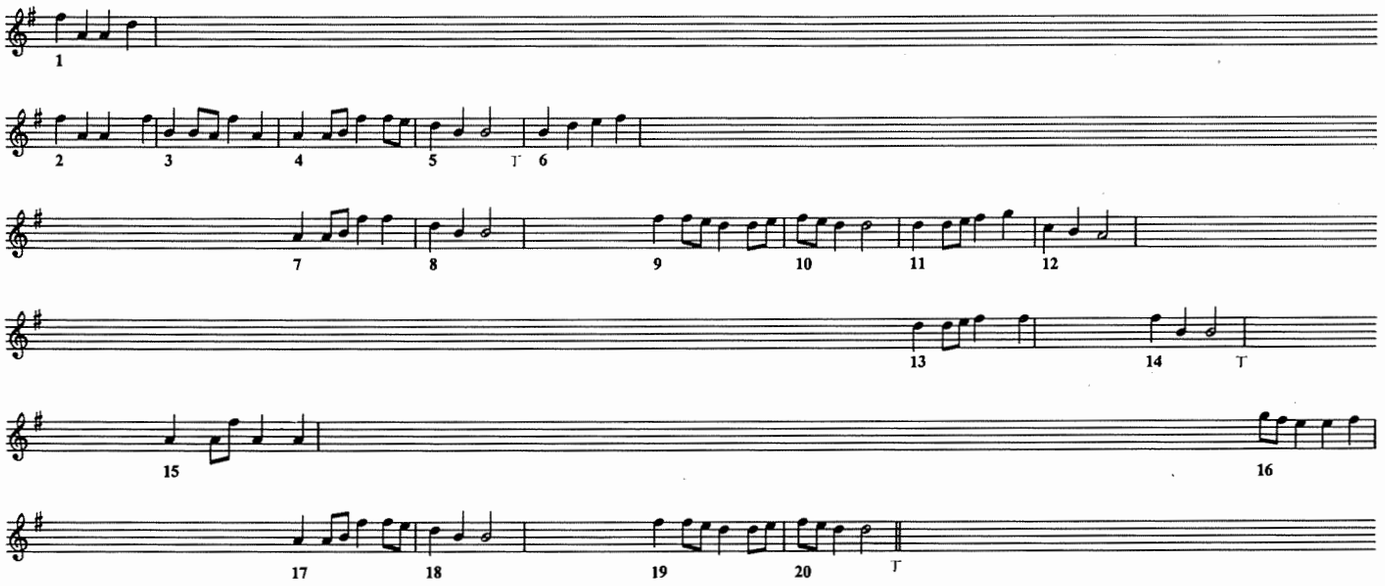
Both the Way-Walking and the Broaching concentrate energy on small tonal areas: the Way-Walking on *f♯*+*e*+*d*, in measures 3 to 7, for instance, and the Broaching on *e*+*f♯*+*g*+*a*, in measures 3 to 5, and on *d*+*c*+*b*+*a*, in measures 6 to 8. A characteristic feature of much Japanese music, traditional as well as contemporary, is the aesthetic satisfaction of achieving maximal expression from a modicum of material. On this evidence alone, it would be rash to suggest that, in the light of the operation of the scale and the structure of the melody within it, the Broaching is a purely Japanese composition, added to the traditional Chinese repertoire in Japan. Further experience may sharpen our intellectual and physical ears, however, since the *Tōgaku* repertory is extensive, and much has yet to be explored before all its secrets are exposed. Analysis of the structural detail of the Broaching has revealed, however, a less compact organisation than that of other movements of the suite.

The one movement of *Katen* that certainly came from China is the Quick; it was brought by Fujiwara no Sadatoshi in 841, after studying the Chinese bass-lute (*piba*) under the greatly respected Chinese master, Lian Chengwu (Fascicle 1, p. 13). It is the first item, both in twenty measures and in duple time, in Moronaga's chosen order of listing. Other items with twenty drumbeat-periods have been seen in this series (the Broaching Sections of *Ō-dai hajin-raku*, and the Bird Tune of *Shunnō-den*, see Fascicles 1 and 2); but those are pieces in triple or unmeasured time, or with portions both measured and unmeasured in time. The Quick of *Katen* is measured throughout, with drumbeats on the third beat of each measure. The phrase-structure, borne out by the *tei*-signs (丁) in the string-versions, consists of four phrases: 5+5+4+6 measures. Apart from these indications, several sub-phrases also show themselves as basic to the form of the melody. The descent onto the sub-mediant in measures 7 and 8 and 17 and 18 is a sub-mediant cadence-formula with defined cadence-rhythm; and the two examples occur at the same point in the two halves of the composition. The effect of refrain-repetition is heightened by the repetition also of measures 9 and 10 in measures 19 and 20. The music, as we have it here, speaks in terms of seven phrases in all: 5+3+2 and 2+2+4+2; and this is not in conflict with Moronaga's written indications. The two equal halves are marked off by cadences on the final, in each case preceded by cadences on the sub-mediant. The dominant-cadence closes only one phrase (or sub-phrase) and is delayed until after the halfway point. The data of the weighted-scale analysis (disregarding the ties) shed further light on the anatomy of the tune. The mode-final is the cadence-note in the three sets of figures:

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–10	21.5	22.5	–	**20.5**	13	26.5	–
11–20	18	15.5	3	**21.5**	15	26.5	5.5
Measures 1–20	39.5	38	3	**42**	28	53	5.5

The pentatonic scale supports the whole weight of the Quick, except in measures 11 and 12; the auxiliary notes of the transposed *Gong*-mode, *g* and *c*, contribute little. The pentatonic scale functions as a balanced unit in both halves, and the evidence is confirmed over the entire melody. The mediant is the axis across which the melody is almost perfectly

balanced by the combined weights of $a+b$ and $d+e$: 77.5:70, on either side of it. The comment previously made on the low rating of the dominant as a cadence-note does not apply to the dominant in general; the figures for dominant and mode-final are similar, and this is also true of the sub-mediant, which carries a major share of responsibility for cadences.

An analytical table of formulae and variants in the Quick shows the extent of repetition and intuitive organisation, which make the piece the delight that it is.

An analytical table: *Katen no Kyū*

It now remains to consider the three movements of *Katen* as components of a *Tōgaku*-suite, knowing from the analyses of *Toraden* and *Shunnō-den* (Fascicle 3) that the separate movements of such suites may be variants of each other. Analysis has not yet established irrefutable precedents about the forms of compositions in this tradition, nor about processes of construction within the forms of pieces classified in the common mode. In the music of this genre, the only constant technical factors that can be stated, at this stage beyond doubt, are three in number: the binary-beat principle and its absolute influence on all aspects of time-measurement; the language of melodic formulae that, notwithstanding their fragmentary nature, are germaine to the essence and continuity of melodic style and texture; and lastly the use of such standard, idiomatic formulae, recognisable in their repetitions and variations, which establish mode and mode-key and which mark points where music in motion stops, in hiatus or conclusion. There are perceptible melodic patterns that identify intermediate and concluding cadence- or rest-points, and which mark single phrases and multi-phrase sections of entire pieces. The principles of time-measurement, the nature of melody, and a certain logic of structural organisation, are the common property of the corpus of this repertoire. On that basis, a comparative analysis of *Katen* may be attempted, to see whether the three pieces afford evidence of a common national and social origin.

The reader will recall that the Quick of this suite is the only authenticated piece of Chinese music, or of music known to have come from China, and that the source of Way-Walking and Broaching is not proven. For that reason, it is convenient to compare Way-Walking and Broaching with Quick (p. 37), contrary to the order of pieces in performance, but accepting that the Quick is a standard, to which the other pieces might be expected to relate, in greater or lesser degree. The purpose of the comparison is to see what the movements have in common, and whether it is on grounds of the presence of common musical elements that the Japanese could have made, or selected, them for a four-movement dance-suite. A useful starting-point for comparison is the number of times each note of the scale functions as the last note of a measure – the ancient concept of a measure of music being a line of poetry.

The following table lists both the number of line-finals of each movement on each note of the scale, and then converts these numbers to percentages of the total number of measures in each movement.

Note	Quick	Broaching	Way-Walking		Quick	Broaching	Way-Walking
a	3	3	2		15	30	25
b	4	–	–		20	–	–
c	–	–	–		–	–	–
d	3	3	3		15	30	37.5
e	5	1	–		25	10	–
f♯	4	–	3		20	–	37.5
g	1	3	–		5	30	–
Total numbers	20	10	8	Percentages	100	100	100

The Quick exhibits six different line-finals; the Broaching, four; and the Way-Walking three. Although the number of line-finals on the mode-final is the same in all three, the Quick uses the mode-final lightly in this capacity, while Broaching and Way-Walking place equal, maximum weight on it and on at least one other note. The dominant also is light-weighted in the Quick as compared with its use in the other two pieces. The superfinal is the most used measure-final in the Quick, while Broaching and Way-Walking attach no importance to it. Similarly, the sub-mediant rates highly in the Quick, but does not function as a line-final in the other pieces. In this same movement, mediant and sub-mediant score equal second, next to the superfinal, as notes most frequently acting as line-finals. As compared with other notes of the weighted scale of the Quick, the mediant also exhibits most weight in durations and occurrences, and its general total is far in advance of that of the mode-final and its dominant. The mediant also rates highly in the Way-Walking, both as a line-final and as a general note in the weighted scale. Nevertheless, in review, it is the Quick that convincingly exhibits the greatest degree of variety in construction.

There is a further difference between the three movements which should not be overlooked; that is: the order of priority of notes chosen for line-finals in each piece. With most-used finals on the left, moving to least-used finals on the right, we have:

Quick	*e*, *b* = *f♯*, *d* = *a*, *g*
Broaching	*d* = *a* = *g*, *e*
Way-Walking	*d* = *f♯* *a*

As compared with the relative conservatism of Broaching and Way-Walking, the bolder organisation of the Quick is clearly demonstrated. The Quick sets a standard of quality and imagination which needs to be investigated further in other tunes of the same category and length.

Is it the *metre* of the Quick which contributes to its greater richness in line-final data, and to its consequent variety? In the actual number of binary beats, the Quick is not very different from other movements but, measured by the drum-strokes that occur every two binary-beats, more data are brought to the surface, and the forward motion of the music is intensified.

Way-Walking	8 measures	4/2 time	32 binary beats
Broaching	10 measures	4/2 time	40 binary beats
Quick	20 measures	2/2 time	40 binary beats

If we assume that the Quick was originally measured in 4/2, would the nature and functions of its elements, as we see them in 2/2, have been different? In 4/2, there would then have been three line-finals each on mediant and sub-mediant, two on the mode-final, and one each on dominant and superfinal. The table of measure-finals previously given can be adapted so as to compare Broaching and Way-Walking with such a hypothetical 4/2-version of the Quick.

Note	Quick	Broaching	Way-Walking		Quick	Broaching	Way-Walking
a	1	3	2		10	30	25
b	3	–	–		30	–	–
c	–	–	–		–	–	–
d	2	3	3		20	30	37.5
e	1	1	–		10	10	–
f♯	3	–	3		30	–	37.5
g	–	3	–		–	30	–
Total numbers	10	10	8	Percentages	100	100	100

As compared with the other two pieces in the *Katen*-suite, line-finals of the Quick (in 4/2) register 30 percent each on mediant and sub-mediant, 20 percent on mode-final, and 10 percent each on dominant and superfinal. The Quick still remains as the most extended of the three pieces, in the sense that all five notes of the basic pentatonic scale act as line-finals. There is, however, one notable alteration: with the almost total annihilation of the superfinal in the Quick, the inherent energy of the 2/2-melody is totally spent.

The Quick is the most individual movement of the three; and it is unlikely ever to have been a 4/2-movement in its present form, since its structure differs radically from that of all other 4/2-movements of ten measures in this mode-key group. The six ten-measure compositions in 4/2, five of which will be considered later in this review – *Katen no Ha*, *Shō-ō-raku*, *Ichirō-raku*, *Ikin-raku*, *Shōwa-raku*, *Kasui-raku* – are all composed of phrases assembled from an even number of measures. The authority for this phrasing is the placing of *ichi* (一) and *hiku* (弓|) lexigraphs, to be found in all Moronaga's versions (primary and secondary) of these items in tablature. Furthermore, not one of these items breaks into two equal halves, as does the Quick of *Katen*. A comparative table of phrase-lengths, in numbers of measures, shows the common structure of the ten-measure forms, and the distortion of the Quick when cramped into the same 4/2-metre.

Katen, Broaching	2+4+2+2
Shō-ō-raku	2+2+2+4
Ichirō-raku	2+2+2+2+2
Ikin-raku	2+4+2+2
Shōwa-raku	2+4+4
Kasui-raku	2+2+2+2+2
Katen, Quick (in 4/2)	2.5+1.5+1+1+1+2+1

Useful as it has been to examine the methods of construction, and the technical management of these compositions, in the hope that their physical make-up might suggest familial, or perhaps relative, resemblances, it is timely now to lay aside this discussion. The search has not discovered any particular evidence of like structural organisation. Could it be, that phrases of one and two measures duration are not equally significant in the three members of the suite, and that they cannot be submitted to the same simple rule of thumb? The phrasing of the movements of *Katen*, as they stand in the score, is:

Quick	5+3+2; 2+2+4+2
Broaching	2+4+2+2
Way-Walking	2+2+2+2

The movements are unequal in size and dissimilar in shape; each satisfies by its own particular merits. Any similarity that may exist between them can better be exhibited in terms of melodic formulae and their technical manipulation in the creative process.

The Way-Walking relies on the strongest relationship between notes 1 and 3. The dominant is not used in this capacity after the first two measures; line-finals, on 3 and 1, satisfy the needs of three-quarters of the tune. The dominant initiates the melody through 3 to 1 at the halfway-mark, and 3 is then stressed, before restoring appropriate weight to the mode-final in conclusion.

The Broaching is constructed differently. Line-finals on 1 and 5 at the outset are balanced at the end by those on 5 and 1. Between these modal pillars, tension is created, with 4 asserting itself three times in the middle of the tune.

In the first six measures, the quasi-first-half of the total of ten, the third measure is the significant link between the first two measures and what happens after. Measure 3 follows the positive 5–1 opening and could naturally continue it; but through, and after, measure 3, a new tension is set up over the succeeding three measures and defined in terms of a 4–1 relationship. A glance at the data for measures 3 to 6 of the weighted scale previously shown reveals that these four measures operate almost entirely within the pentachord *d–e–f*♯*–g–a*, with *g* as the most weighted note, whereas measures 1 and 2 are concerned mostly with the tetrachord *a–b–c–d*, with *a* as the most weighted note. In each instance,

the mode-final is weighted next to *g* in measures 3 to 6, and next to *a* in measures 1 and two, but is not a very close competitor of either in the hierarchy of notes in this piece. The mode-final here functions rather as a pivot on which the music turns towards a dominant or sub-dominant note-centre, each centre of attraction being five notes away from the final, in opposite directions. One is the dominant *over* the final, the other the dominant *under* the final.

The remaining measures, 7 to 10, show a relaxation of conflict by degrees. Measure 7, with its final, sub-dominant note, could belong in any *Shang* context and lead to a cadence on any one of the prime notes of the mode-key. Through its relationship with measure 4, measure 7 hints at a return to the sub-dominant area; but in fact the next measure follows with a cadence on the dominant – not a very strong one, but a clear one – and the way is thus open to restore and re-affirm the final as the prime note of the mode-key. *Katen no Ha* is an interesting piece which, by virtue of its simplicity and brevity allows the nature of academic argument to be viewed in rudimentary musical terms.

The Quick

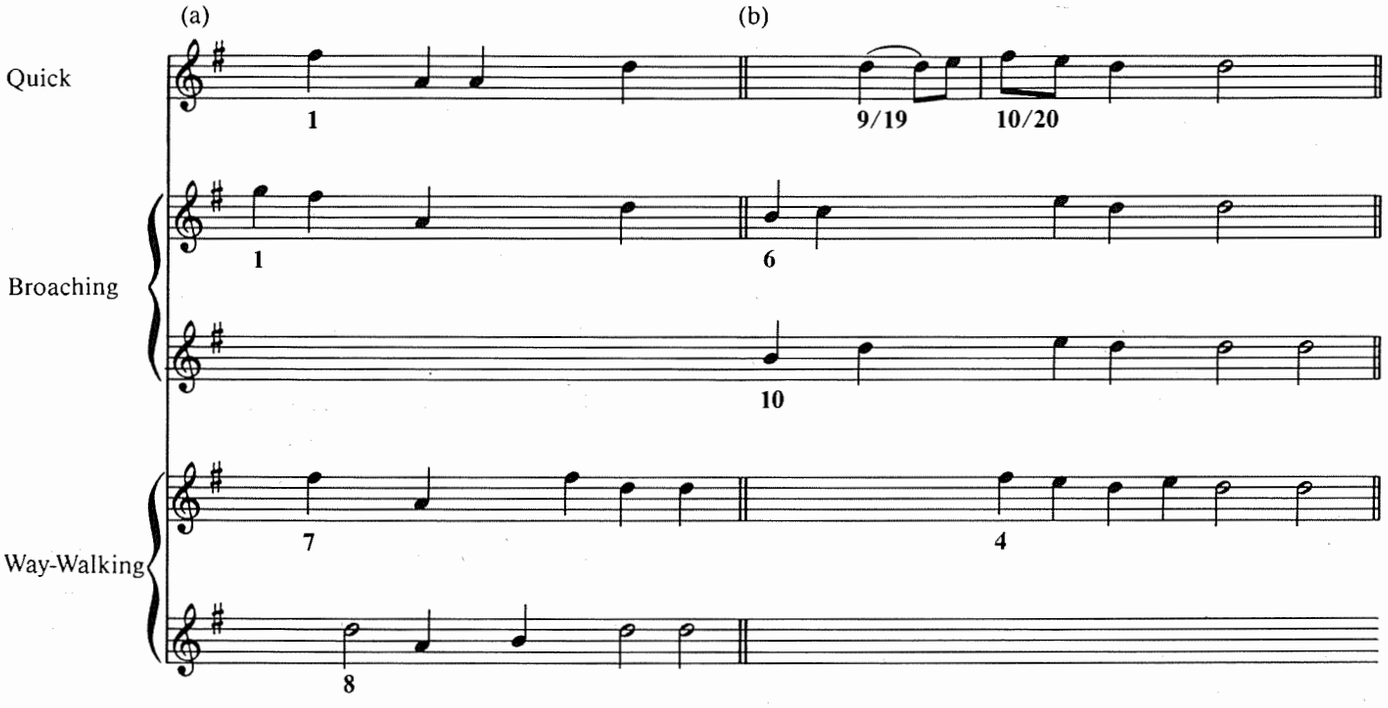
The note-finals of the 20 measures of the Quick (*Katen no Kyū*) reveal a wider range of reference-points for consideration. The opening and closing modal pillars are present, the five pentatonic notes are measure-finals at the beginning and the end, and the central point is positively marked. The dimensions of the measures in 2/2, more slender than those of the previous tunes in 4/2, allow greater variety of choice – choice that has been exercised here in favour of notes other than 1 and 5 for measure-finals. The previous table of numbers and percentages of line-finals of the three items showed the strength, in the Quick, of *e*, *f♯* and *b*, in this regard. The succeeding comparative table of the progressive orders of note-choice, for line-finals, showed that a flexible range was achieved, with reduced dependence on final and dominant. Between measures 3 and 10, there are no line-finals on 1 and 5, and between measures 10 and 20 there are none on 1, and only two, spaced-out line-finals on 5. As there is only one final on *g* in a total of 20, some twelve measures are serviced by e, b and f♯. Of the five measures that finish on *e*, three repeat the same formula, and two others repeat another formula that finishes on the same note. Of the four measures that finish on *b*, three repeat the same formula, the remaining one being a variant. Two of the measures that finish on *f♯* are similar, and the remaining two are variants of each other.

Musically and structurally the Quick depends on repetitions of pattern-groups. The repetition of refrain measures that rounds off each half of the tune has been mentioned. Repetition of groups of formulae serves to keep the tune in motion.

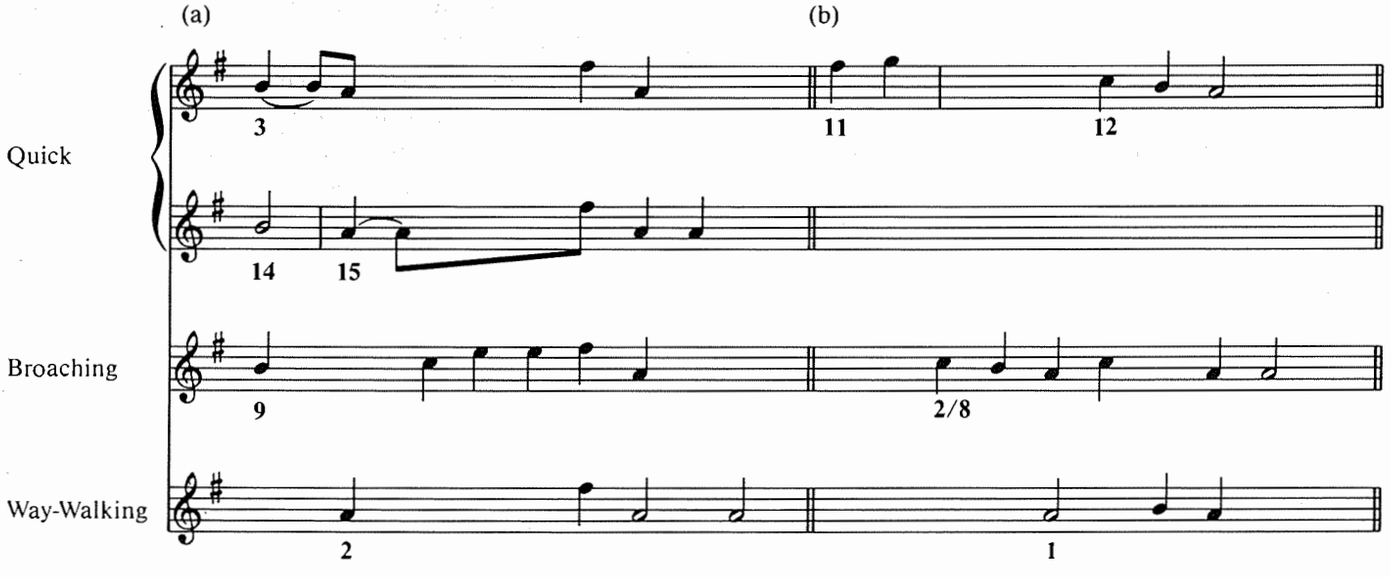
In the light of comments already made concerning dominant and sub-dominant polar tensions above and below the mode-final, and the intuitive management of such things in a modal composition, one further example can be drawn from the Quick of *Katen*. In measures 11 and 12, the sub-dominant appears for the first and only time as a measure-final, to be followed by the dominant as phrase-final in the next measure. The individuality of this phrase in the present context might have led into the *g–c* area, with consequent variety and contrast. Measure 13 indeed suggests that this is about to happen, but the abrupt sub-mediant interjection puts an end to the possibility, in such a way that the music is restrained from going anywhere but back to where it was. Measures 15 and 16 bring the tune directly round to the refrain-position, to finish off with a repeat of measures 7 to 10, now heard as 17 to 20. On the evidence of this piece, there is no reason to regard the native musicality and skill of early Chinese composers as in any way less than those of other sophisticated peoples with long historical traditions and creative achievements.

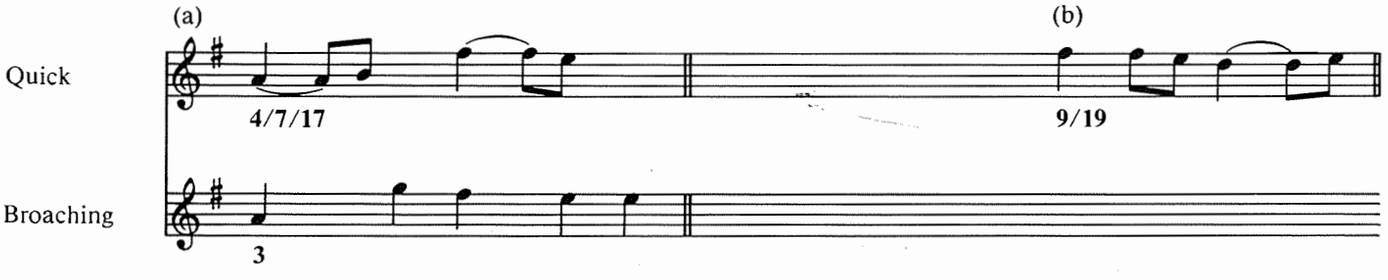
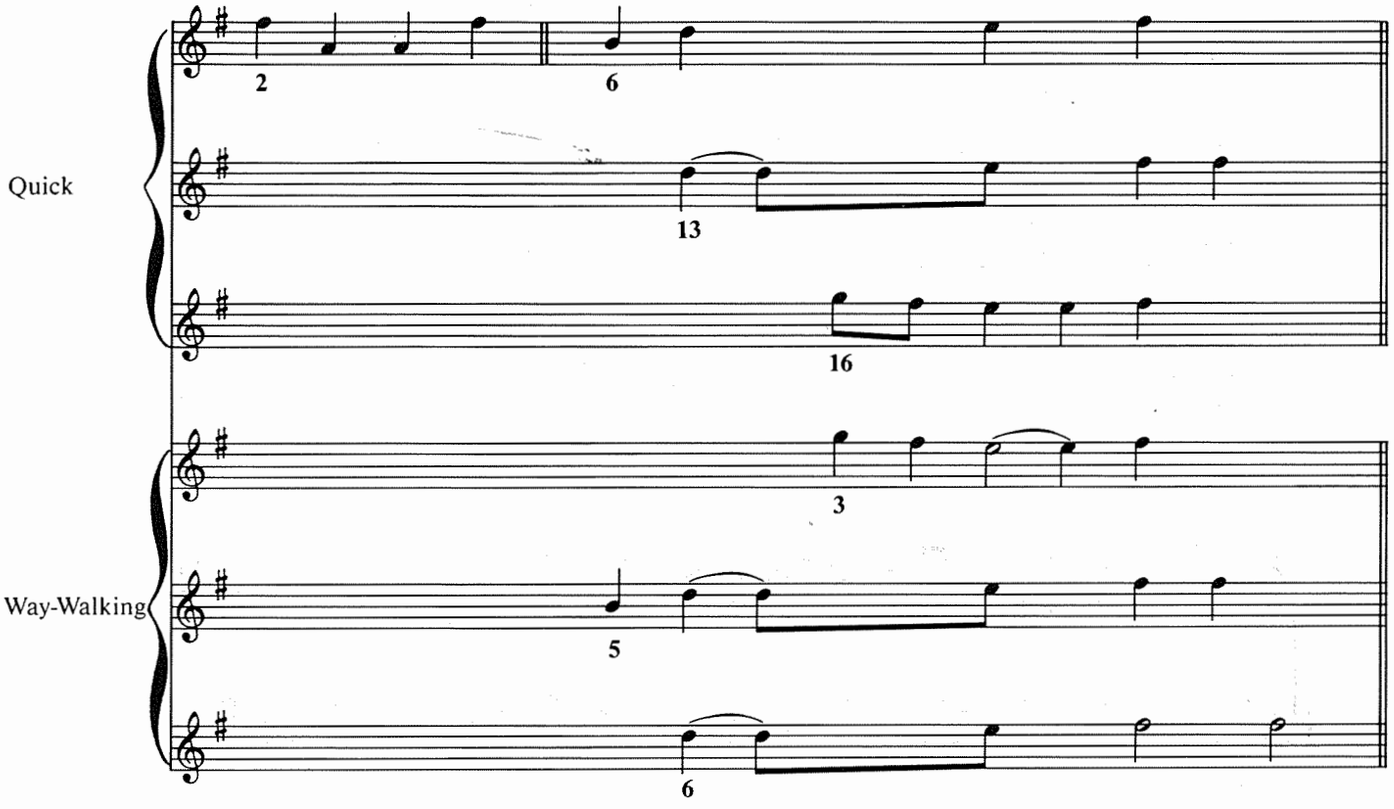
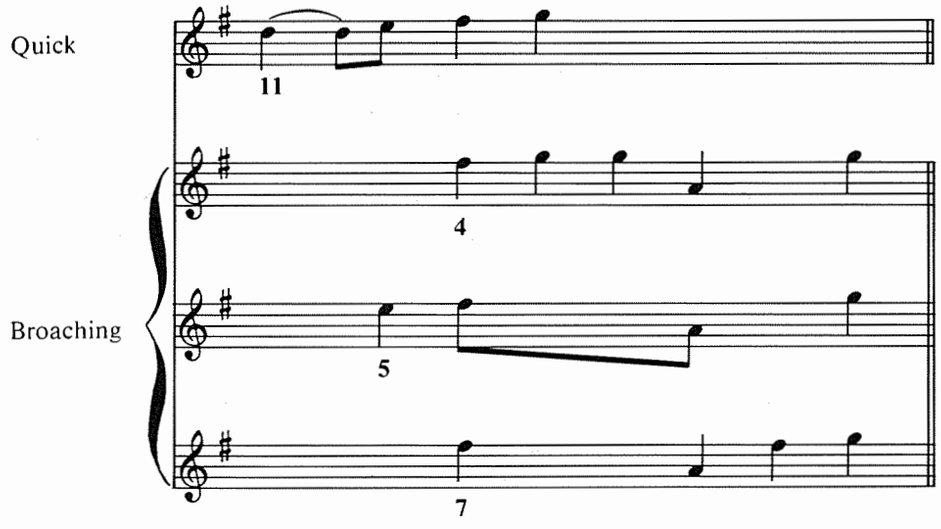
Comparison of formulaic materials shared between the three movements of *Katen*

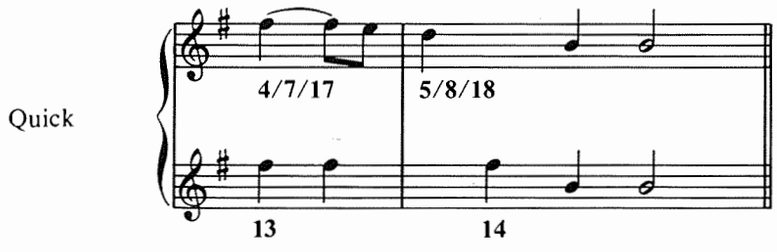
1. Cadences and other measure-finals completing on the mode-final: two patterns in nine examples

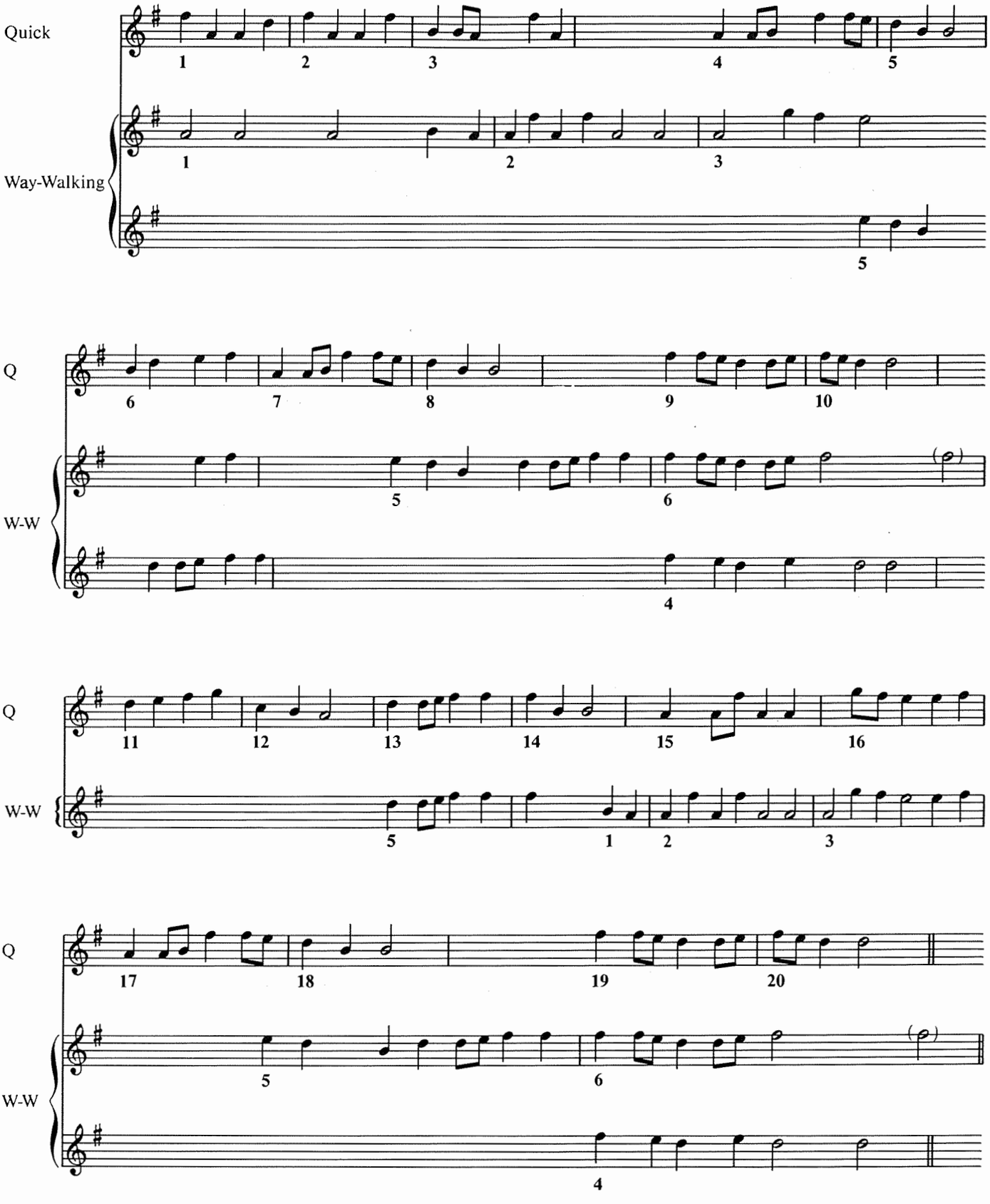
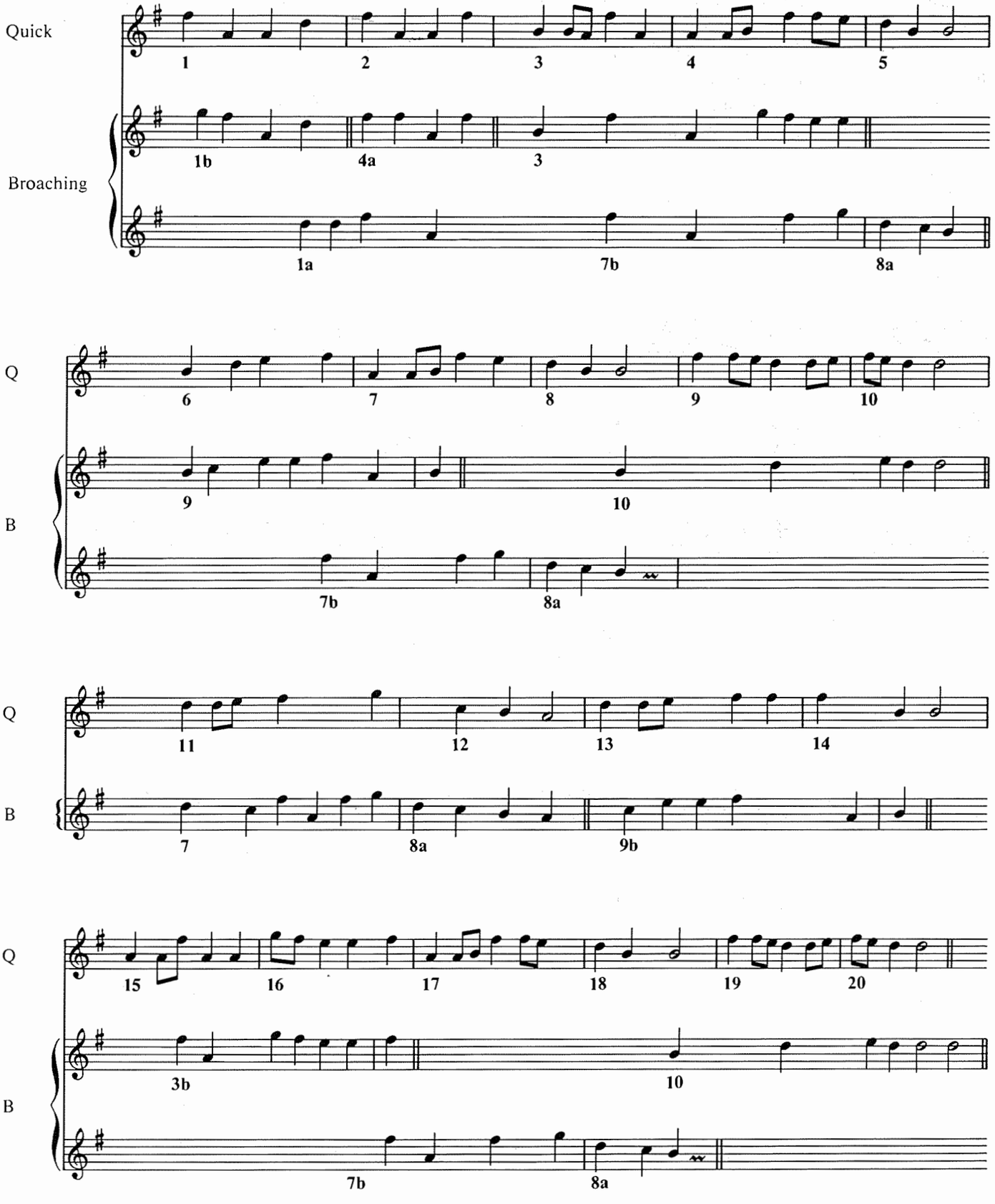


2. Cadences and other measure-finals completing on the dominant: two patterns in eight examples



3. Cadences and other measure-finals completing on the superfinal: two similar types in six examples

4. Measures completing on the mediant: two basic patterns in seven examples

5. Measures completing on the sub-dominant: one formula in four examples

6. Cadences and measures completing on the sub-mediant: one formula in four examples



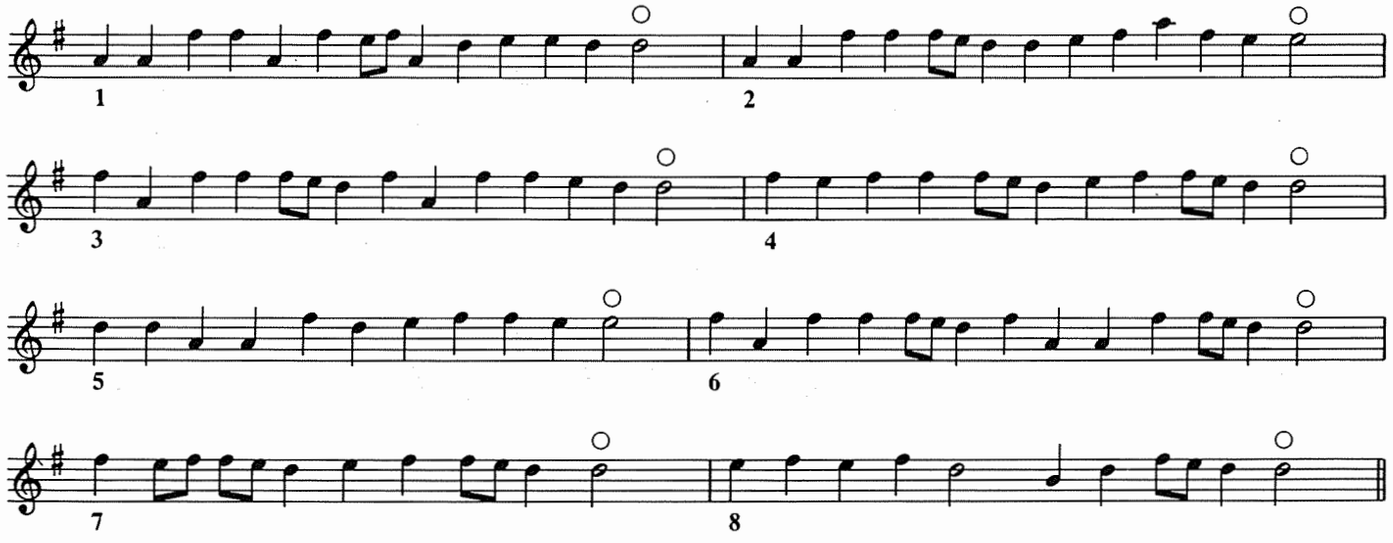
Formulaic relationship between the Quick and the Way-Walking is illustrated in the following table, where formulae detached from the Way-Walking are laid under the complete Quick to show their variant forms.

Formulaic relationships between the Quick and the Broaching are shown below. Formulae detached from the Broaching are laid under the complete Quick.

6 *Tori/Niao* 'The Bird'

Japanese descriptions of *Tori* (also known in early manuscripts as *Karyōbin*) are: a 'middle-sized piece' and 'old music', music believed to have been in existence before 650 AD. As discussed here, it is a music-and-dance suite in three movements. The attribution to China is not certain; but Japanese records of the great *Tōdaiji* temple in Nara state that the dance was devised by a dance-master of Tang, while the music was newly created, for an important temple-restoration ceremony in 861, by Wanibe no Ōtamaro – a flute-player, famous in his day, aged 63 in that year. Possibly Ōtamaro himself composed all the music, but it is more likely (in view of Sino-Japanese use of the verb 'to make' in musical contexts) that he arranged or revised the music, or directed the ensemble of musicians in its performance.

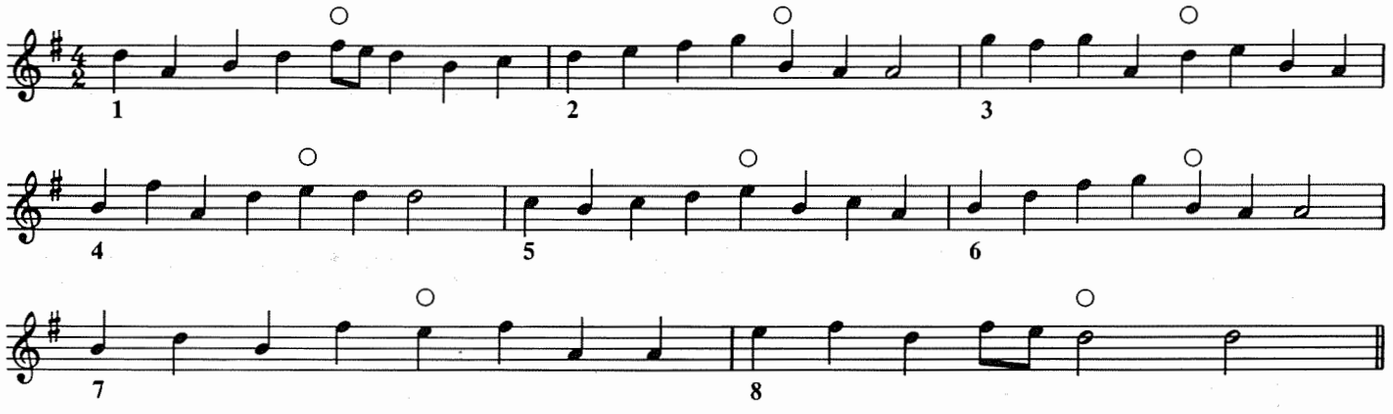
To arrive at justified conflations of *Tori* was not difficult. The Toyohara mouth-organ versions (*KF/HSFRK*) are strongly supported by the notes of the other source-materials, and where lapses are evident, *SSSTF* (a manuscript a century later in date, but for the same instrument) supplies the necessary information.

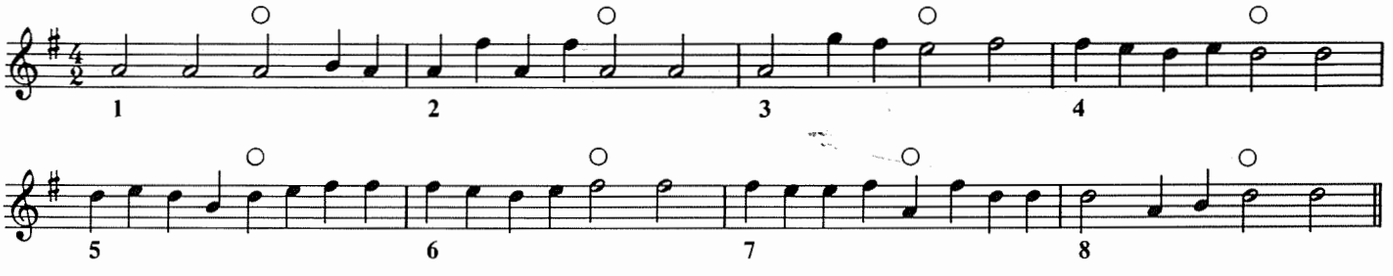
Conflations

Prelude



Broaching



Quick

There is greater divergence between the two principal instrumental traditions (mouth-organ and strings) than between the separate versions within them. This applies in particular to the Prelude, where the evidence suggests several independent practical authorities, separately and jealously protecting their own well-established practices. The notes of the Prelude are not in much doubt; but the time and rhythm of the versions of the two schools appear to challenge each other. In such cases, it will be remembered that the principles of conflation, previously laid down (p. 34), allow the mouth-organ tradition a small amount of extra weight, in view of its age and recorded history.

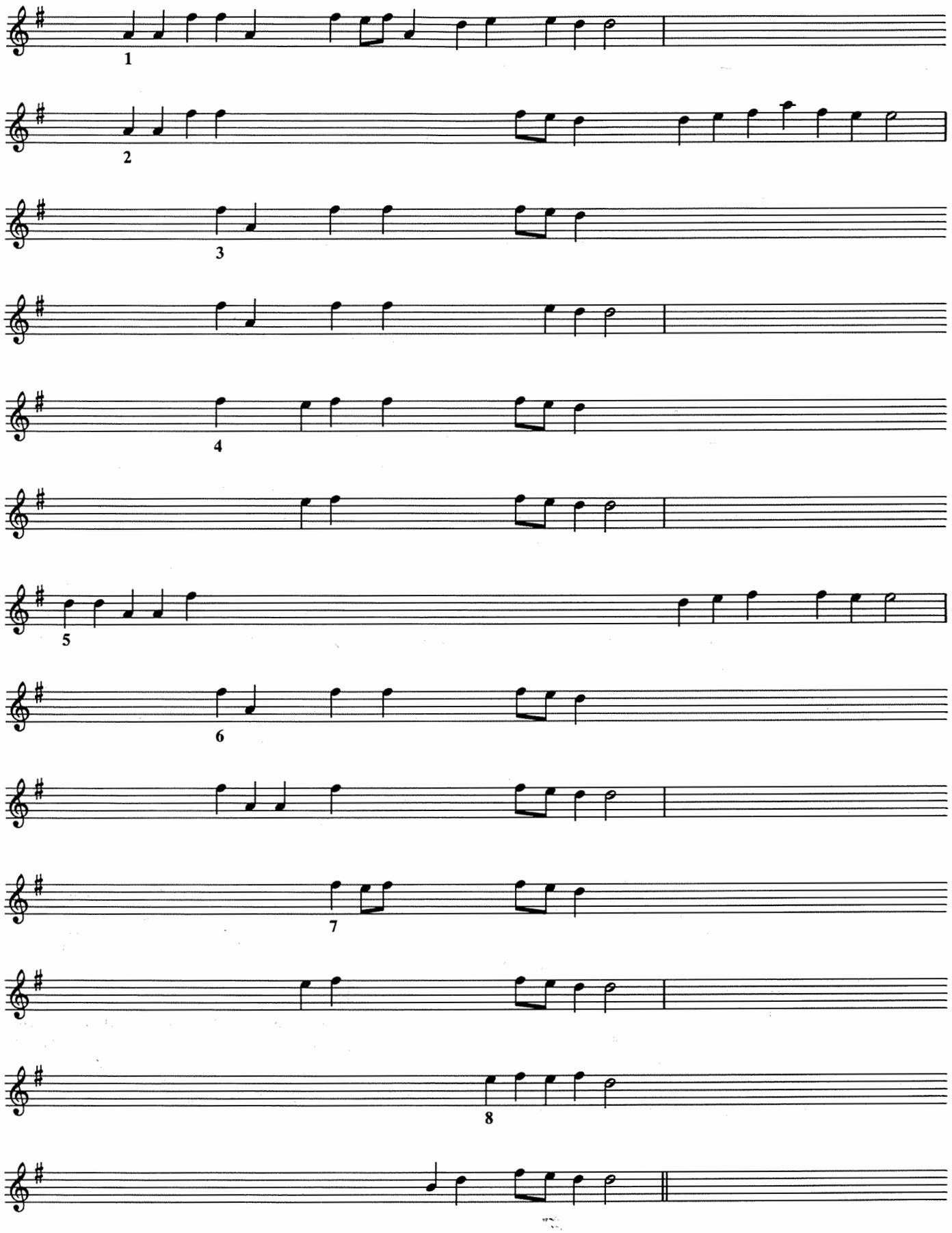
To illustrate the principal differences between the wind and string versions of the Prelude, two examples will suffice. The first concerns the drumbeat-markings and cadences. The conflated Prelude exhibits eight drumbeat-periods; and there are two versions each for the wind and stringed instruments, omitting the flute-glosses in *JCYR*. Each pair of versions should show sixteen drumbeat-markings in all, with cadence-notes of two-beat duration, on which the drumbeat falls. In five places, in the mouth-organ versions, either the drumbeat-indication, or the note, or both, are missing. In the zither- and lute-versions, the repetition of the previous note for the cadence is missing on six occasions, although the bass-drum indications are present. These important discrepancies in the writing down and copying of versions, in early instrumental tablatures, account for the not unimportant differences in duration of the various transcriptions before us. In the following table, the number of binary beats in each drumbeat-period of the four primary versions is shown. The figure in brackets is the number of binary beats, with the absent cadence-note restored (as in the conflation).

Drumbeat-period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Source: *KF/HSFRK*	7	6(7)	7	6	5	7	5	6
SSSTF	6	6(7)	7	6	5(6)	7	5	6
JCYR	8(9)	5	5(6)	5	6	5(6)	5	6
SGYR	7(8)	5	5(6)	5	6	5(6)	5	6

The second area of difference between the wind and string versions of the Prelude is the more active texture of the zither- and lute-versions as compared with the comparatively plain texture of the two mouth-organ versions. There is no evidence that the plucked melodies are later variants of the blown ones, as might be thought. A first glance could lead to such a supposition; but it would be dangerous to press because of the radically different material specifications of the two kinds of instrument, their contrary tonal and technical attributes, and their equally developed, but autonomous, performer-skills. Comparison of the four versions of the Prelude shows that differences in time and rhythm within drumbeat-periods are usually accountable shades of difference due (1) to the presence of additional notes by repetition; (2) to reductions of several consecutive notes in time-value; (3) to the omission of repeating notes, resulting either in a shorter length to the phrase, or in insertion of a minor 'filler' to make up for the omission; (4) to a token decorative device, common to one set of instruments but not to the other. What catches the musical eye, looking over the *quasi*-score of *Tori* (Fascicle 3, p. 34), is the family-likeness shared by the primary sources, and yet the gratifying individuality of each member of the quartet of versions.

The justified conflation of the Prelude totals 51 binary beats: eight drumbeat-periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 6, 7, 5, 6 binary beats each. It would be futile to argue that a standardised phrase structure of uniform lengths may have been the original form of the piece. *Senza misura, tempo giusto* preludes have come down through the centuries in irregular phrase-lengths, although the condition of these pieces at the time of their entrance to Japan cannot be determined beyond question, if indeed all of them came from abroad. What is shown here is that lengths of periods 7 and 8 in the versions of the Prelude are the same in all four sources, and that period 7 consists of five binary beats and period 8 of six. Except for a single sub-mediant note, the scale is tetratonic: *d–e–f♯–a*. Although each half of the Prelude concludes on the final – there are six cadences on this note, and two on the superfinal – the order of precedence of notes in both halves is *f♯*, *d*, *e* and *a*. This is the same order of precedence to be observed in the melody as a whole. Nevertheless, numerical data show a very close balance between mediant and mode-final over periods 5 to 8 (using the same weighted-scale formula as before, p. 38); but the balance is not so close over the melody as a whole.

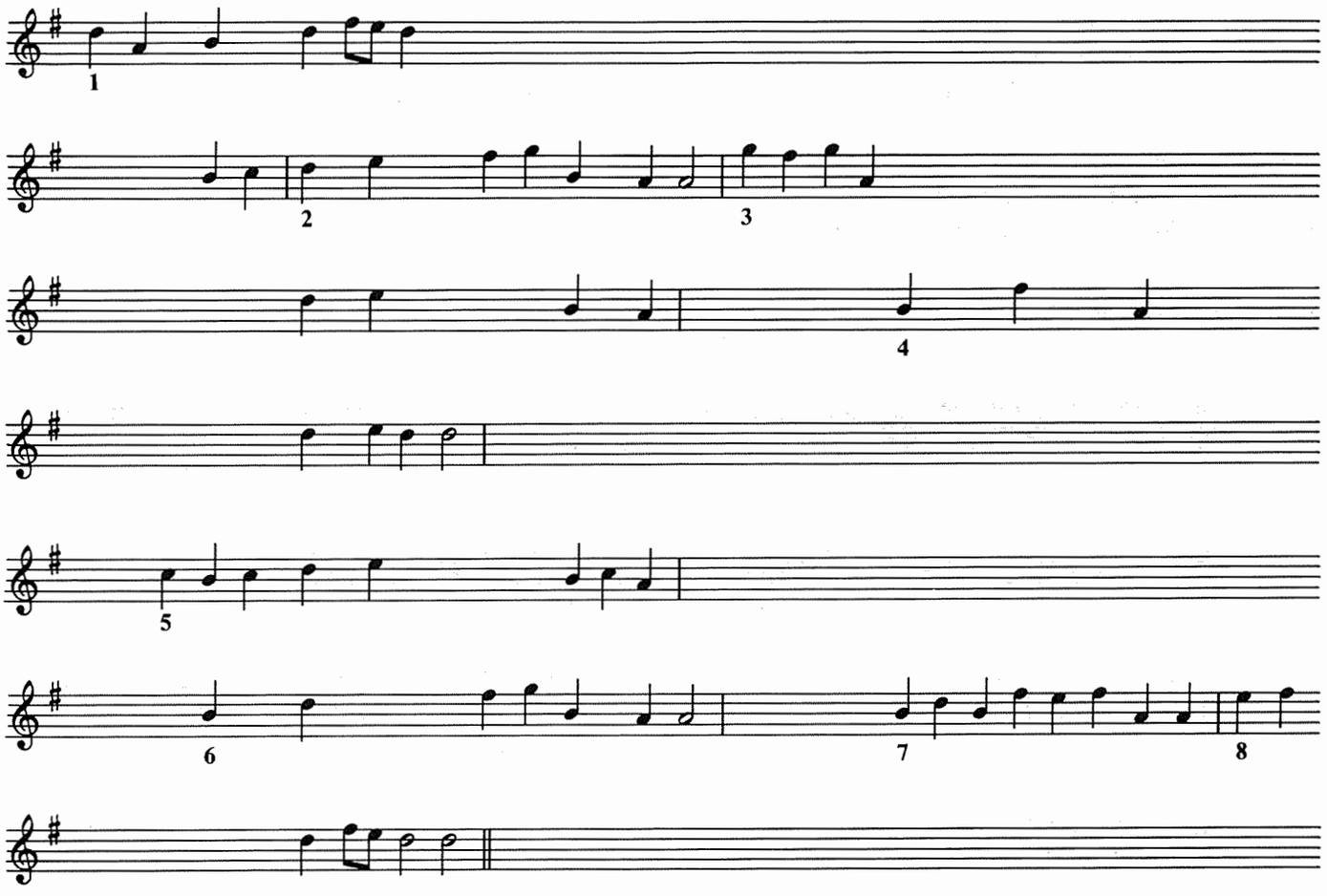
Scale	*a*	*b*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*a*
Periods 1–4	18	–	28	25.5	43.5	2
5–8	10	2	34	24	35	–
Periods 1–8	28	2	62	49.5	78.5	2

A layered, melodic-analysis table reveals the close dependence of periods 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8, on the simple formulae of period 1. Even periods 2 and 5 are not far removed from it. Were it not for the superfinal cadence-notes, periods 2 and 5 might also be lined up as variants of their predecessors.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

The Broaching of *Tori* is regular: eight measures in 4/2; four equal phrases, cadencing alternately on dominant and mode-final; 32 binary beats in all. The main strength of the melody lies in the lower tetrachord of the mouth-organ range *a* to *d*, with *e* and *f♯* next in importance, and the *quasi-bian* (*g* in the first half and *c* in the second) contributing effectively to the linear quality of the melody. Weighted-scale figures show the satisfactory balance of elements within the tune and reveal an interesting variation in scale-structure between the two halves: *d–e–f♯–g–a–b* in measures 1 to 4, and *a–b–c–d–e–f♯* in measures 5 to 8.

Scale	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–4	15	11	3	20	7.5	7.5	7
5–8	14	14	7	15	8.5	9.5	2
Measures 1–8	29	25	10	35	16	17	9

Formulaic analysis reveals the shared identity of measures 2 and 6, and their lesser, but recognisable, affinity with measures 3 and 5. All four measures end on the dominant.

Analysis of the Broaching

The Quick has been discussed previously as one of the three movements of *Katen*. What was stated there regarding the Way-Walking of *Katen* stands also for the Quick of *Tori*, with minor alteration of the data-figures. A summary description of the four phrases of the Quick is given here, restoring it to what was, in all probability, its original context.

Measures 1 and 2: mostly dominant, with only inconsequential reference to two other notes; the mode-final is absent.

Measures 3 and 4: rejection of the dominant in favour of an even distribution of weight over *d–e–f♯*; the mode-final is heard, but not until the cadence.

Measures 5 and 6: the same area of concentration of interest, with *f♯* the most prominent note.

Measures 7 and 8: the only phrase that uses the complete pentatonic scale of the mode; the mediant is reduced in importance, with weight being attached to the mode-final.

Scale	*a*	*b*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–2	25	2	–	–	4	–
3–4	4	–	9	7	9	2
5–6	–	2	9	8	15	–
7–8	4	2	16	4	7	–
Measures 1–8	33	6	34	19	35	2

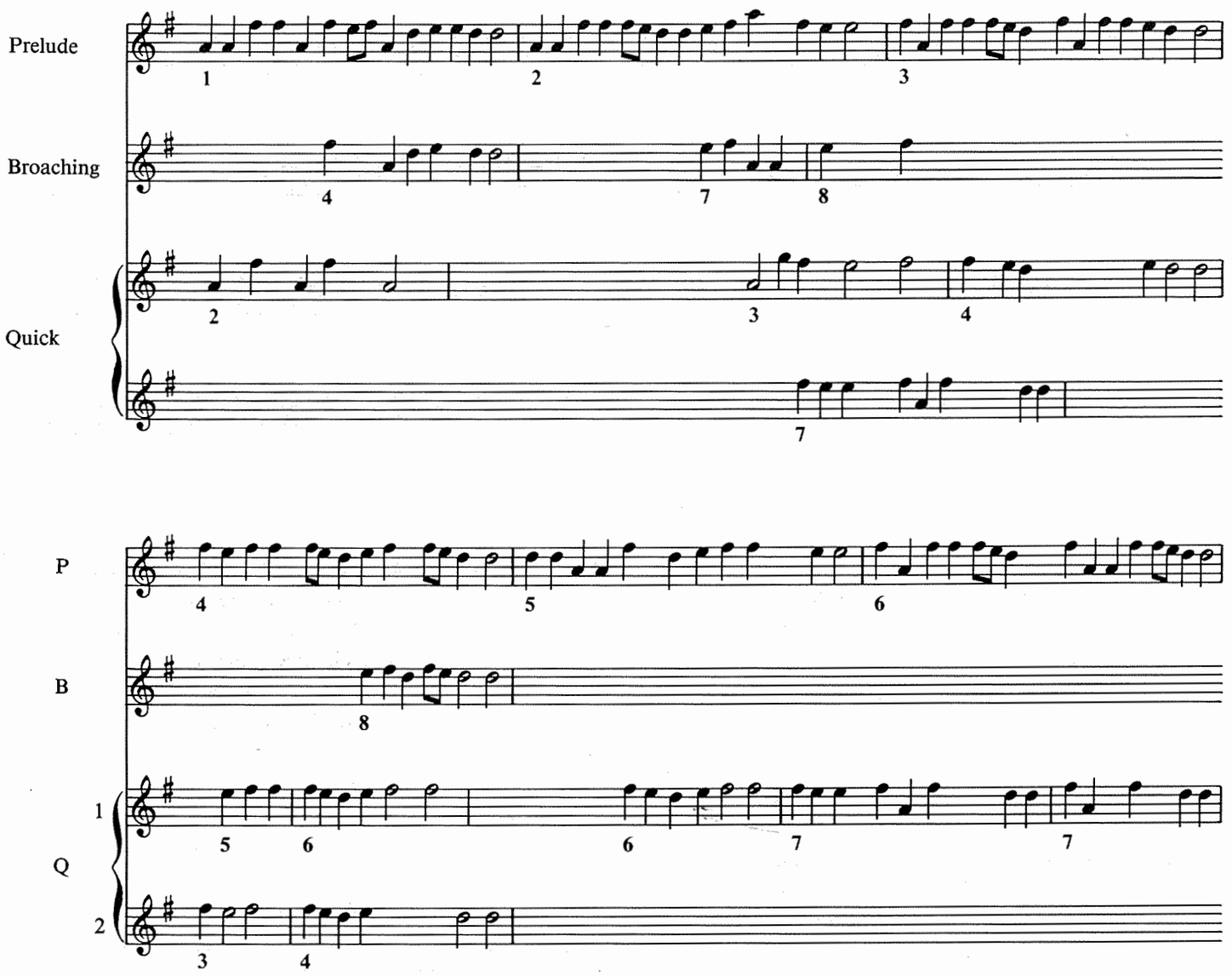
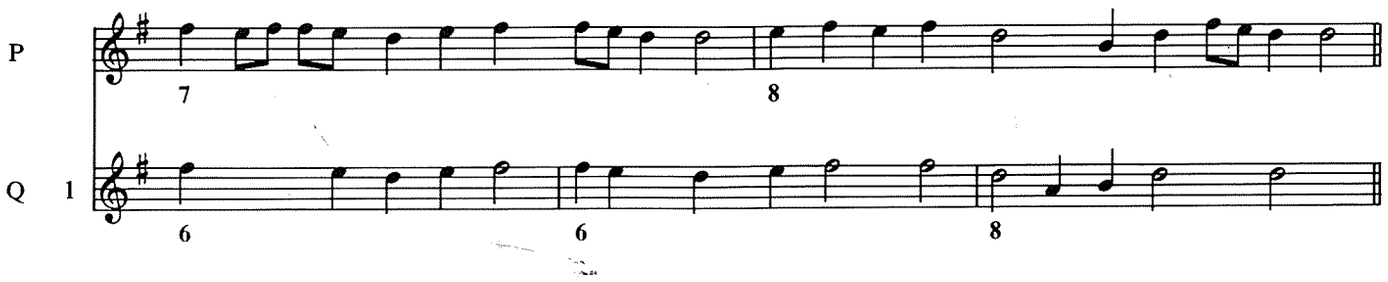
Comparison of the three movements of *Tori* begins with mode, scale and forms, and then proceeds to elements of structure. The operation of the mode varies to some extent. The Prelude, in the mode-key on *d*, exists on less than the basic *Gong*-pentatonic scale, since the submediant occurs only once. The mediant carries 2.8 times the weight of the dominant, and the mode-final, 2.25 times that of the dominant. The Quick closely equates mediant, dominant and mode-final. It is a hexatonic tune, but sub-mediant and sub-dominant are of little consequence.

In comparison with the Quick, the Broaching is heptatonic. The five fundamental notes of the Broaching share appropriately balanced distribution, with dominant and sub-mediant less strong than the mode-final but stronger than the mediant. The sub-final and sub-dominant are more important than might have been expected without being intrusive; each attracts between one-third and one-quarter of the maximum weight of the mode-final. The pentatonic scale is undoubtedly the *Gong* mode on *d*, with *c* and *g* as auxiliary notes of a Mixolydian (not Lydian) octave-set.

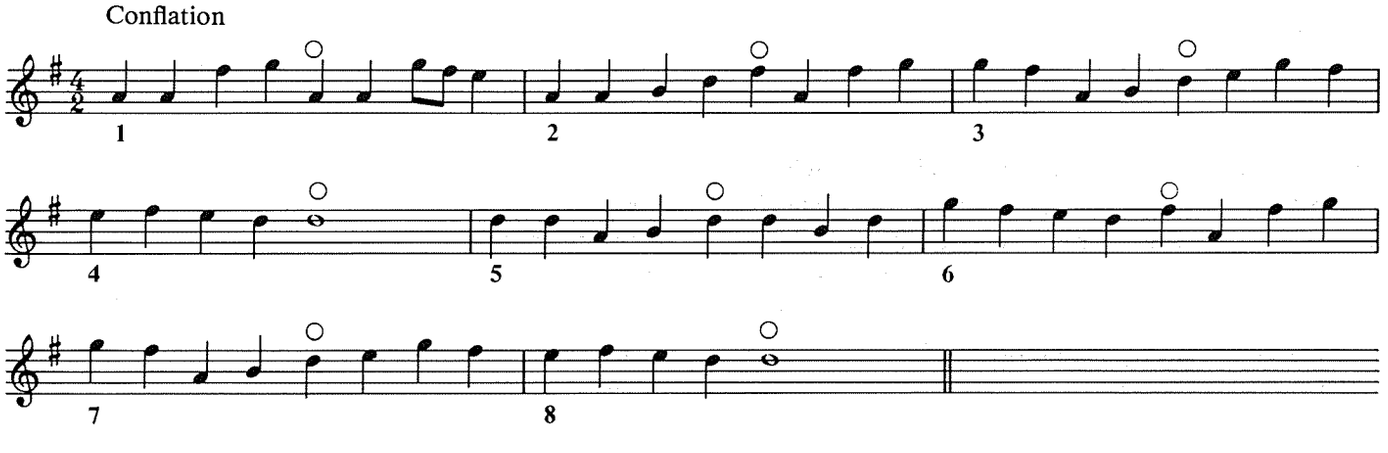
The forms of the three movements are the same: eight drumbeat-periods or measures, with two halves and four quarters clearly defined. All the measure-finals and cadence-notes but one (the first measure of the Broaching) are from the five-note series, and the three halfway-points occur on the same notes, and in the same mode-final cadence-pattern.

The creation of music by the organisation of musical formulae has again been demonstrated in the preceding analyses. An attempt to uncover formulae common to the three *Tori*-pieces was not successful in the case of the Broaching: three cadence-progressions were all that could be found linking Prelude and Broaching. The whole of the Quick, however, is present in the Prelude; both pieces move forward progressively together, as shown in the comparative table below. The Quick being the shorter of the two appears to have been subject to an ingenious stretching of material, so as to meet the length of the Prelude. Or could it have been the other way round: the Quick the progenitor and the Prelude a protraction of the Quick?

The following table sets out fragments of Broaching and Quick under the complete melody of the Prelude. The two staves given to the Quick show several scraps of melody, independent of each other, relating to the same notes in the Prelude.

Table of material common to all three movements

7 *Kaibairaku/Huibei yue* 'The Eddying Bowl'

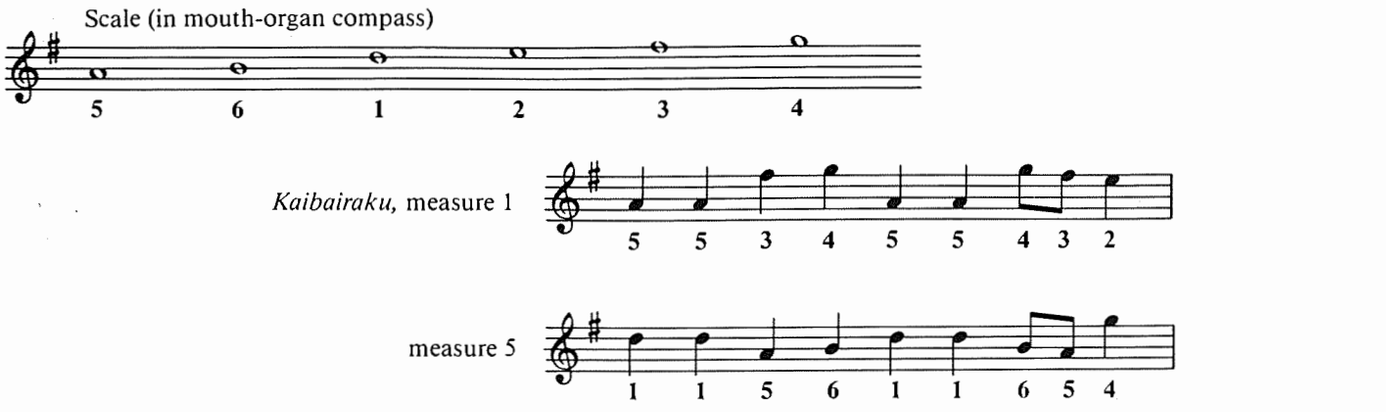
This graceful melody is the only surviving movement from a 'middle-sized' three-movement suite; it is a Broaching that has lost its Prelude and Quick. *KF/HSFRK* records the extinction of the dance and of Prelude and Quick. Today, the dance of all three movements and the music of two have been lost, and the piece is only performed transposed to *Sōjō* (Mixolydian octave-set on *g*). *SSSTF* is silent on the matter. The Toyohara family-tradition avers that, by the date of the *KF/HSFRK* manuscript in the early thirteenth century, the music of the first and third movements of a music-and-dance-suite of this title had disappeared, together with the associated dances. Moronaga does not record that a Quick ever existed, but *JCYR* and *SGYR* both list a Prelude, now vanished, adding that there is no dance. If the music that remains reflects the quality of the pieces that once surrounded it, the suite must have been a charming work. As the four primary versions are in complete agreement, the conflation copies *KF/HSFRK*.



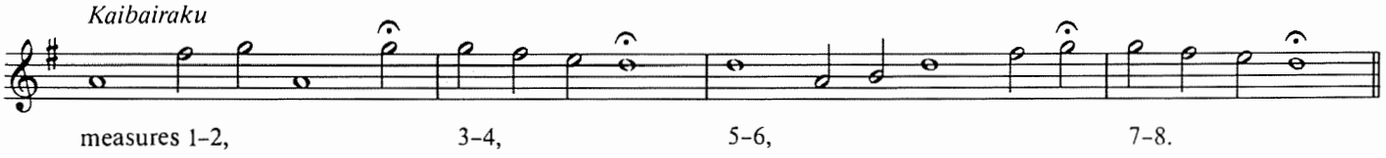
In construction, the instrumental version of the melody is of a tuneful simplicity: four, two-measure phrases, cadence on *g* and *d* alternately; the scale is hexatonic with but one semitone and no sub-final; measures 3 and 4 repeat as 7 and 8; movement is almost entirely in quarter-notes throughout. The range of the basic mouth-organ scale is employed, rising and falling in a vigorous manner. The following table, showing pitch-areas and activity within them, also demonstrates note-perspectives; the weighted-scale formula (p. 38) provides figures, two measures at a time.

	a	*b*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1 and 2	16	2	2	3	7.5	6.5
3 and 4	2	2	10	7	7	5
5 and 6	4	4	14	2	6	6
7 and 8	2	2	10	7	7	5

The repeating phrase – an effective close to each half of the melody – falls smoothly and inevitably on to the mode-final to cadence. The first and third phrases contrast an initial dominant-concentration (measures 1 and 2) with a less insistent, continuing mode-final concentration (measures 5 and 6), each antecedent flowing without hesitation into the same logical consequent (measures 3 and 4, and 7 and 8). In fact, measure 5 is a near-transposition (within the hexatonic scale) of measure 1.



Smoothing out the melodic line a little, and condensing it out of all recognition, tonal energy is shown to exert itself according to the following diagram, guided by the figures for the weighted scale above. The note of greatest weight in each phrase is drawn as a whole-note; all others are symbolic half-notes, regardless of numerical value.

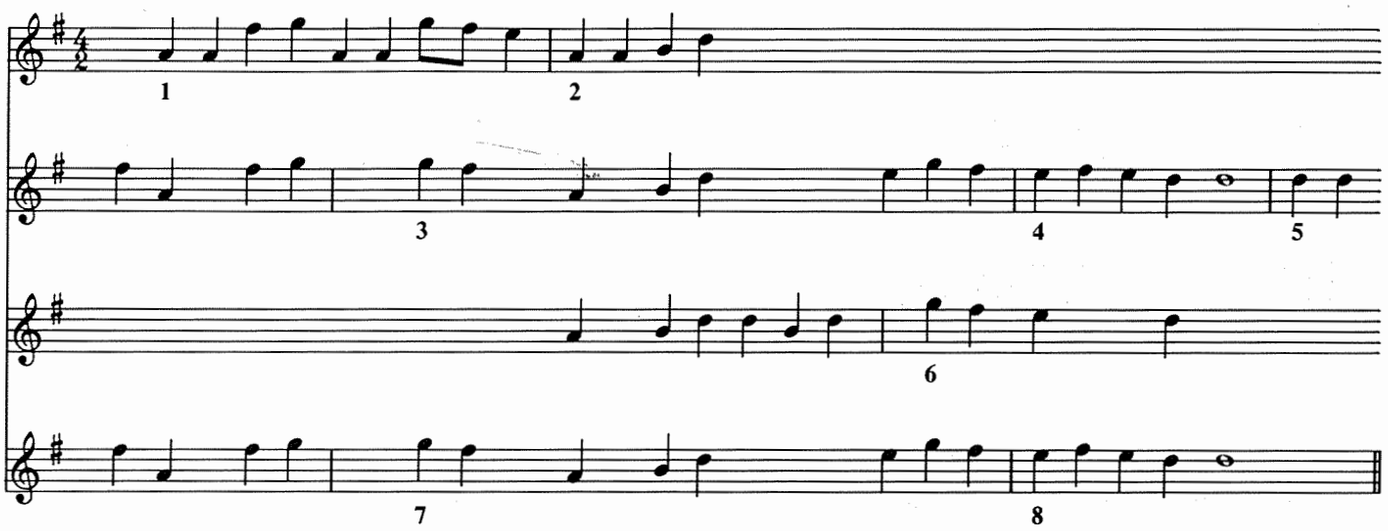


Divorced from time, however, music is robbed of quiddity; with pulse and metre restored, the melody lives again. The illustration may serve to make a point in passing.

The sub-totals of figures for the two pairs of antecedent/consequent phrases, and the grand totals of both together, reveal perspectives between individual notes of the melody and between the two parts.

	a	*b*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–4	18	4	12	10	14.5	11.5
5–8	6	6	24	9	13	11
Measures 1–8	24	10	36	19	27.5	22.5

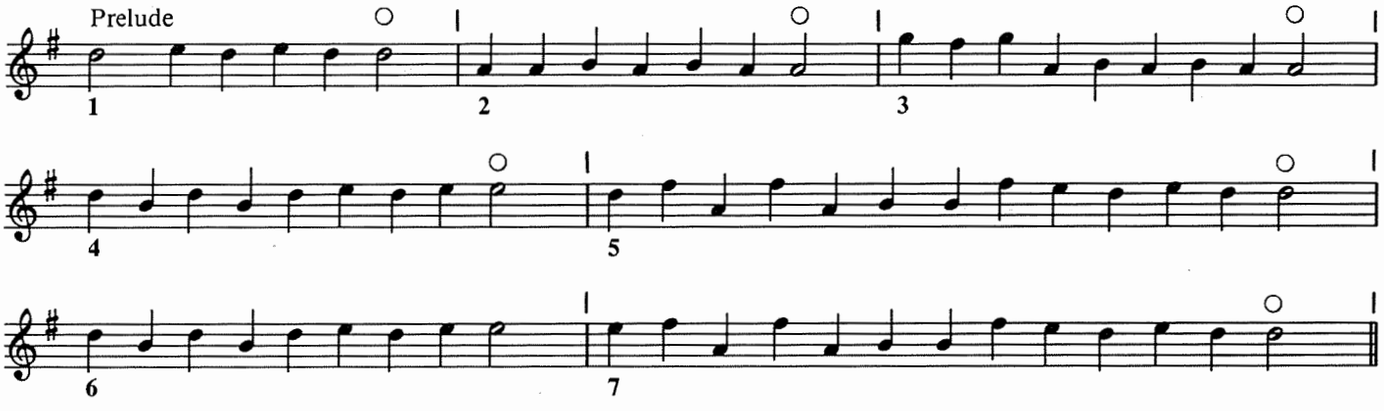
There is no need for detailed discussion of these data; the table speaks for itself. The technical differences between the two halves are, in effect, greater than the ear initially suspects, particularly when one remembers that two-thirds of each half are the same. From the numerical summary, the universal conflict between dominant and tonic (mode-final in this instance) appears to be in progress even here; and one can also see that it has been resolved, as usual, in favour of the basic ground-tone. The *Shang*-note, *d*, is the centre of the mouth-organ scale of the mode-key of *Kaibairaku*; it stands in finality, firmly buttressed by mediant and sub-dominant on the one side and, at the same distance, by the dominant on the other.

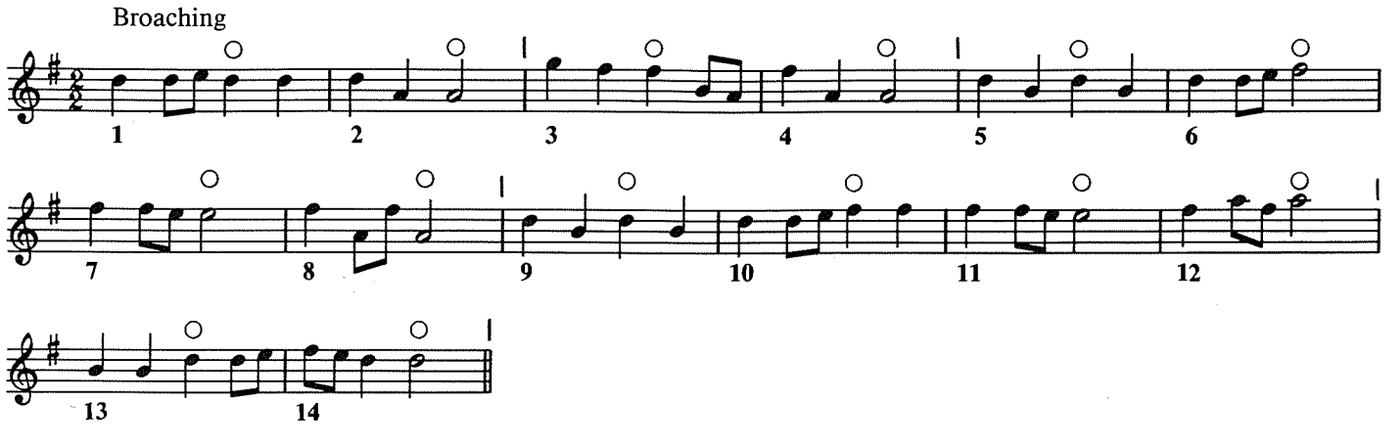
A layered analysis of *Kaibairaku* makes plain the growth of the melody from the first six binary beats (measures 1 to 2a), plus the mode-final cadence-formula, drawn out to five, even six, binary beats (measures 3b to 4). The evidence is welcome, in view of the fact that the verse-form of the melody in the conflation appears to be ABCB, and the point was made that measures 1 and 2, and 5 and 6, are contrasting modal constructions, centred on dominant and mode-final respectively (see p. 55). The weights of the dominant in measures 1 and 2, and of the mode-final in measures 5 and 6, are only just off balance: in the first two measures the dominant registers 42 percent of the total weight, and in the third pair of two measures (5 and 6) the mode-final registers 39 percent of the total weight. Functionally (and artfully) the phrases make an effective contrast, but their formulae are not dissimilar.

Koinju/Hu yin jiu 'Sogdians Drinking Wine'

The traditional descriptions of *Koinju* in the Japanese sources are: 'small piece', 'old music', and a piece belonging to the Tang-music repertory (*Tōgaku*). Each description warrants comment. The piece consists of two movements: a Prelude of thirty-seven binary beats and a Broaching of twenty-eight binary beats. The Prelude was played twice; the Broaching, seven times. 'Old music' is a term applied to part of the *Tōgaku* repertory believed to have originated before AD 650 – not later than the first decades of the Tang dynasty. Whether this suite is in fact from Tang itself is uncertain. The Broaching probably came from the far-West of the Tang empire, or was at one time associated with that region (Sogdiana), and it will be shown later that the Prelude is not an independent and separate composition. That the Broaching is an Asian tune that travelled through the Tang capital and thence to Japan is plausible; but where it originally came from and under what circumstances, with whom and when, are questions looking for answers. *Koinju no Ha* remains an amusing, gregarious tune; and the world is indebted to the Japanese for preserving it.

Constructing conflations of the two movements presented no problems. The mouth-organ scores are firm and complete, and *KF/HSFRK* continues to be the reference *prima inter pares* (Fascicle 2, p. 72) throughout the conflations of pieces in this series. The four instrumental versions exhibit only small discrepancies of no great musical or historical significance. In measure 3 of the Broaching, at least three of the versions agree on the notes adopted: *g–f♯–f♯–b–a*; in measure 7, the differences in the string-versions encouraged acceptance of the first mouth-organ reading.

Conflations

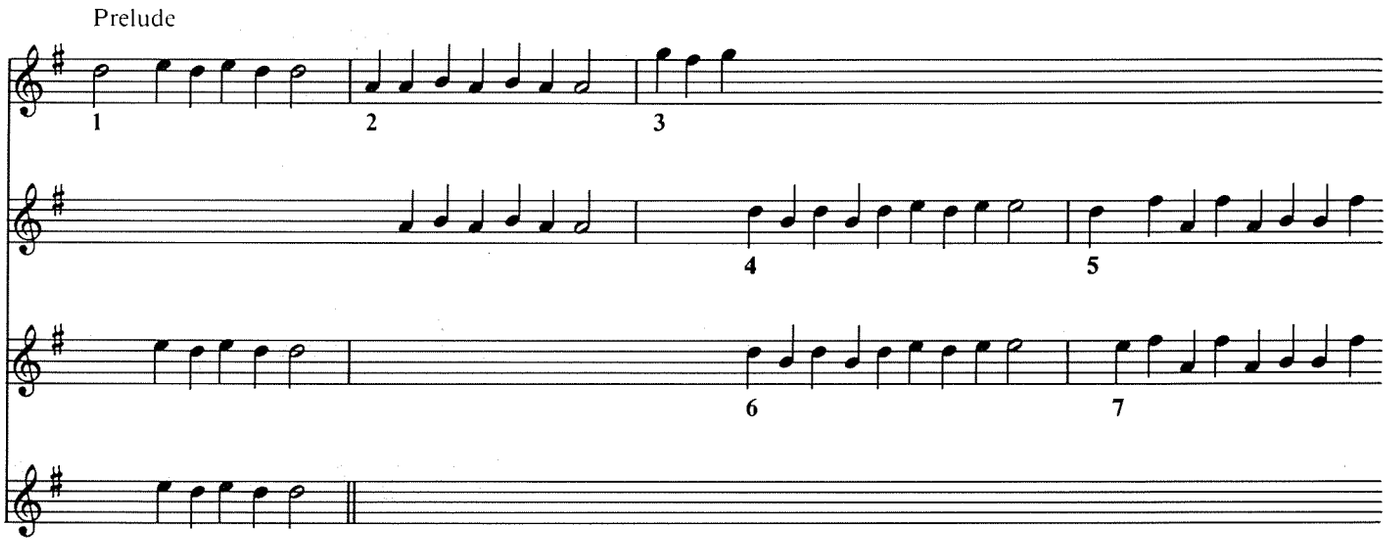




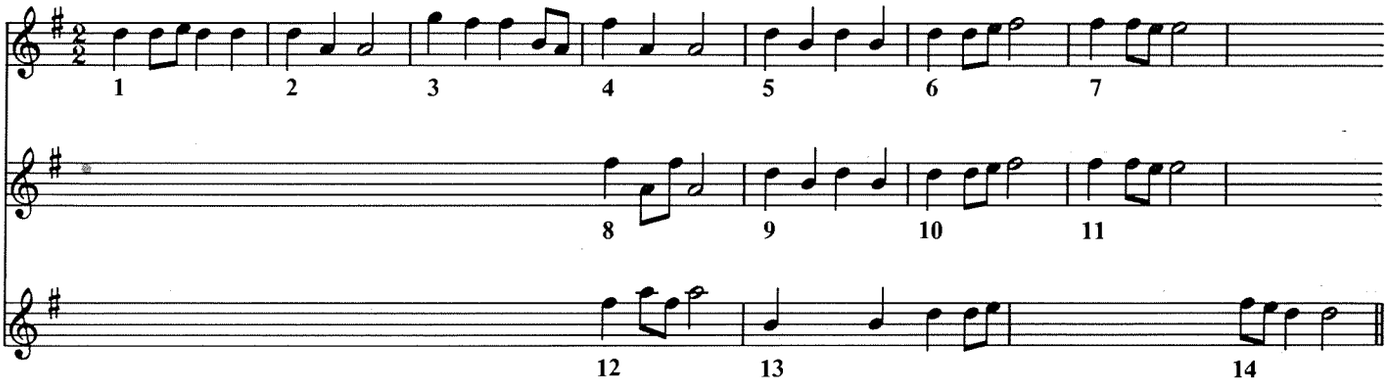
The Prelude, hexatonic (*c* absent) and unmeasured, exhibits seven phrases of unequal length, including 4+4+5+5+7+5+7 binary beats – thirty-seven binary beats in all. The Broaching (in 2/2) is also hexatonic, with seven phrases of two measures each, twenty-eight binary beats in all.

Of interest in regard to both pieces at this stage is the similarity of scale, phrase-structure and formal design. Although Moronaga's *ichi*-signs in the Broaching are not placed as regularly as every two measures. In the scores they are shown after measures 2, 4, 8, 12 and 14, marking off five phrases that cadence on *a*, *a*, *a*, *a* and *d*. The design of the Prelude contrasts with the order of cadencing-notes in the Broaching. Though much reduced in length as compared with the great Prelude of *Ō-dai hajin-raku* (Fascicle 1, pp. 80–9), the *Koinju* Prelude reveals the same 'classic' balance: a close mode-final/dominant relationship at the outset, followed by a similar super-final/final relationship in the latter part, with drumbeat-periods 4 and 5 being repeated unaltered as periods 6 and 7. Melodic analysis of the Prelude re-inforces this view. Formulaic material is minimal and basic, all contained in the few notes (without their repetitions) of measures 1, 2, 4 and 5, and their cadence-notes: *d*, *a*, *e* and *d*. The last third of the Prelude repeats the previous third.

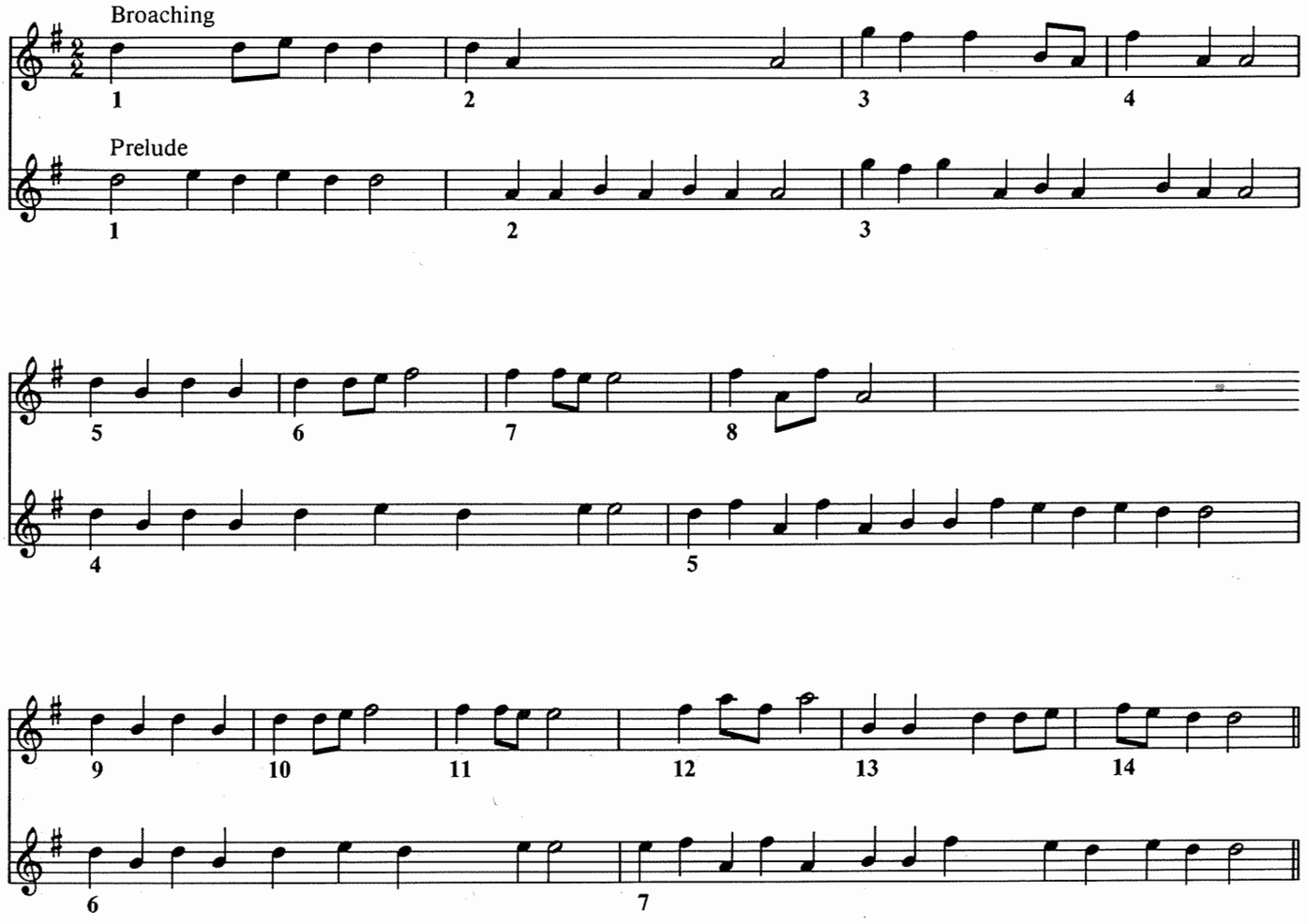
Analysis of the Prelude



The Broaching also employs repetition: measures 9 to 12 repeat measures 5 to 8, and the cadence-patterns in measures 4, 8 and 12, are the same. The melody almost fits into a standard four-measure phrase-structure, the short phrase at the end being a diminution of the preceding phrase. The four consecutive, dominant cadences in measures 2, 4, 8 and 12, increase anticipation of the conclusion, and the final phrase makes its effect in half the time.

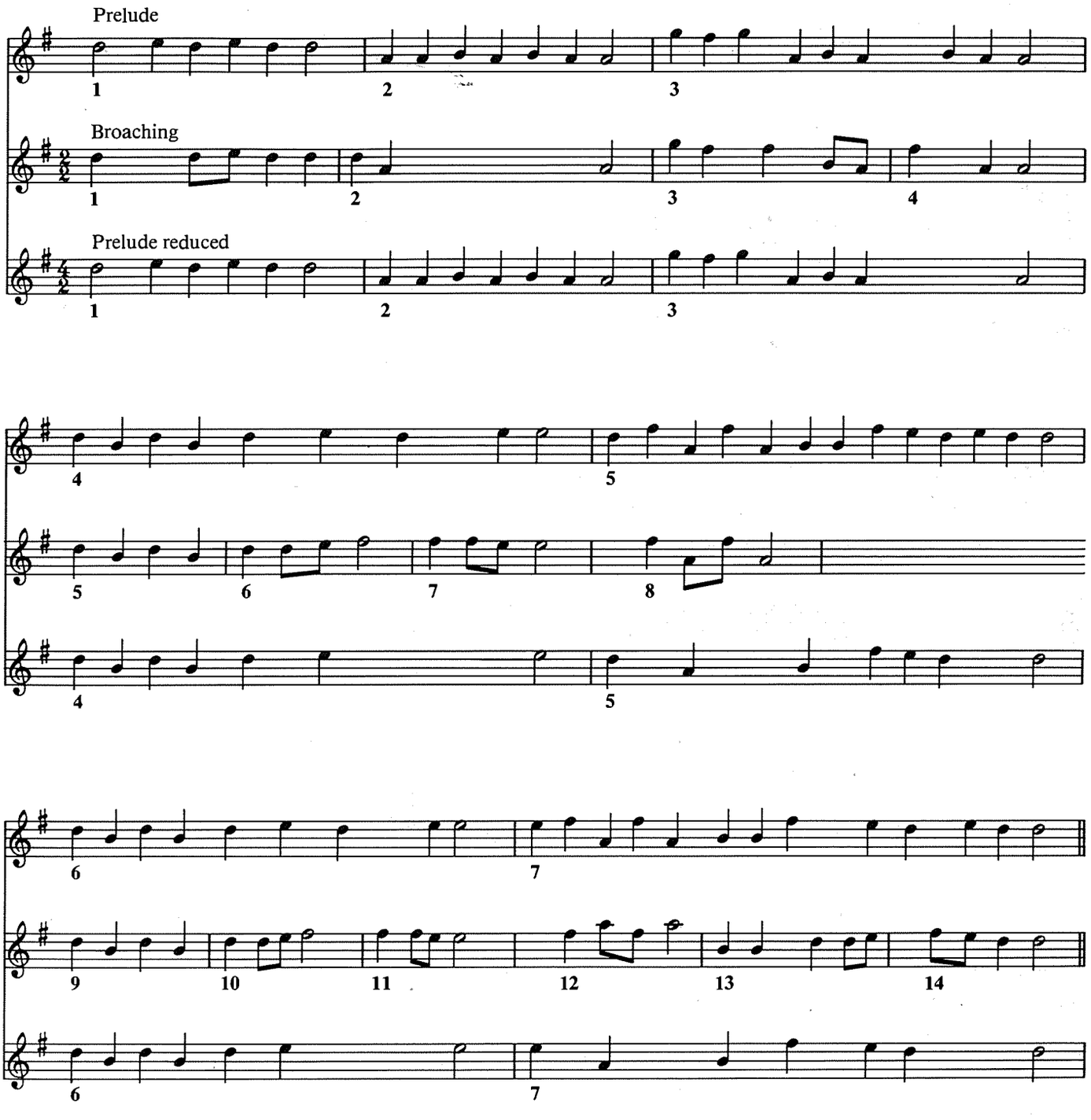
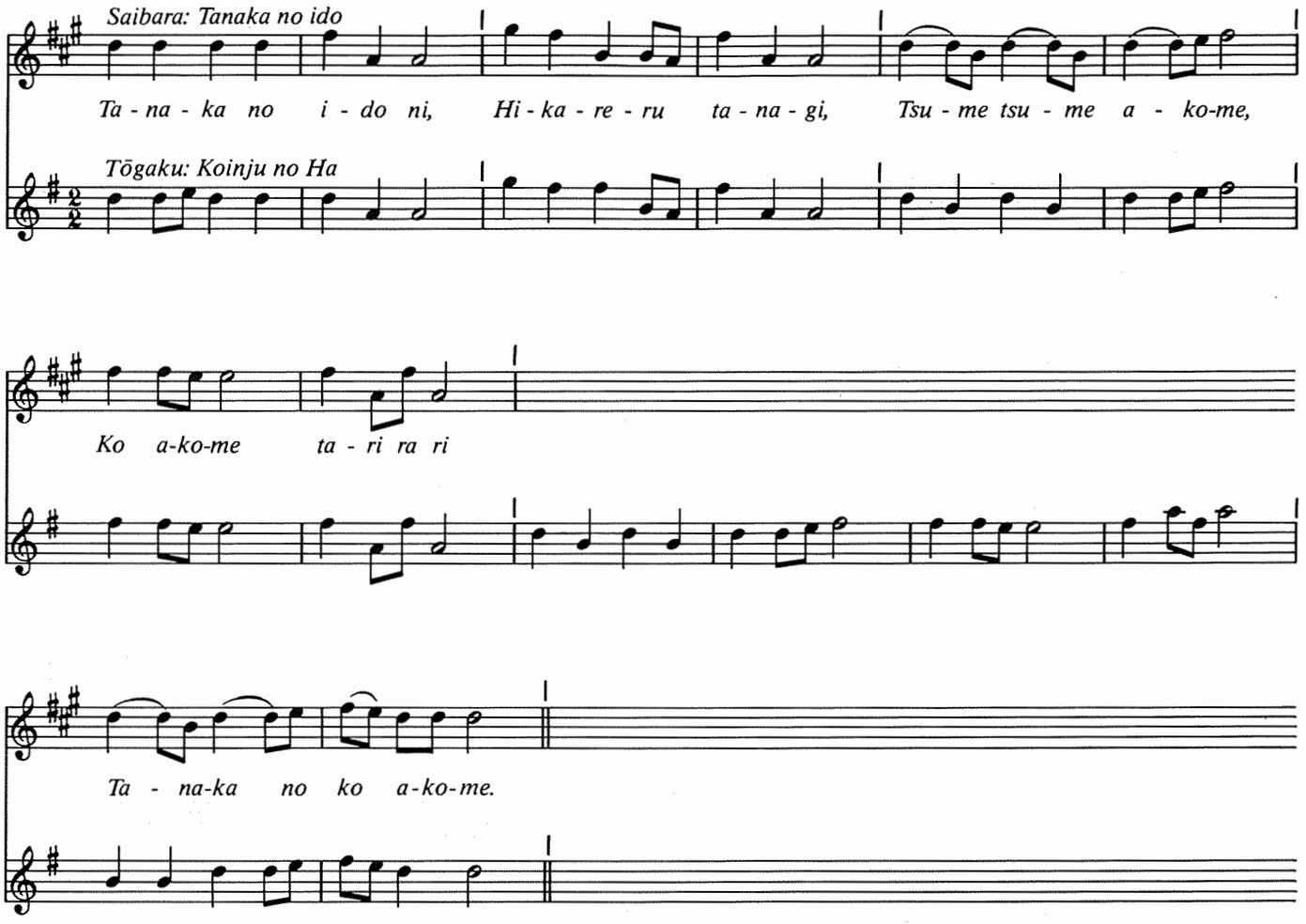
Broaching

Whether or not the Broaching came from Tang, it was certainly identified with the Western Chinese border or beyond, and for this reason it can be regarded as close to the authentic tradition of the Tang-Court repertory. No historical or musical information about the Prelude exists prior to its appearance in Japanese sources. In a comparison of the two movements, the Broaching merits first place.

That the Prelude resembles the Broaching is evident. The notes of the melodies are almost the same, and the forms are similar: seven drumbeat-periods in the one and seven phrases of two measures each in the other, with several period cadence-notes and measure-finals matching. Similarity between movements of *Tōgaku* suites has been met with before: in *Toraden*, the three sections of the Prelude and the succeeding three movements; in *Shunnō-den*, all four movements (Fascicle 3, pp. 77–90). In *Koinju* the relationship is very close.

The two movements invite comparison as variants of each other, recognising the Broaching as the more accessible musical creation of the two. The first observation of interest is that, although the Broaching displays a confident, outgoing disposition, the same quality is not so evident in the Prelude. The latter is formal in character and this is not due solely to its slower tempo in unmeasured time. The regular phrasing of the melody in the one is not manifested consistently in the other. The cadences are the same, in measures 2 and 4 of the Broaching, and the first two periods of the Prelude; but the Prelude does not match the Broaching at the ends of measures 6, 8, 10 and 12. The recurring elements in both melodies are almost the same segments of each: drumbeat-periods 4 and 5, and 6 and 7, of the Prelude reflect measures 5 and 8, and 9 to 14, of the Broaching, save that, while periods 5 and 7 are the same, only period 7 is shown to be a preludical variation of measures 12 to 14. Period 5 – the first statement of that phrase – lacks the backing of the full three measures of the Broaching which constitute the complementary period 7.

A question now arises which, though it may never be answered, may properly be asked. Could measures 13 and 14 of the Broaching have occurred twice in an earlier version of the tune, after measure 8 *and* after measure 12? If the Prelude was made from the Broaching, then the Broaching may originally have consisted of sixteen measures. Such an hypothesis must not be stressed; but if the Broaching was once a sixteen-measure tune, the form may have been that of the Prelude in its freer time: measures 1 to 4, followed by the music of the present measures 9 to 14 (in this speculation numbered 5 to 10 and repeated as 11 to 16). Without the repetition, the melody would span just ten measures in 2/2; with it, sixteen measures.

The nature of the Prelude and its relationship to the Broaching, the *Koinju*-tune, is fascinating. The former is a paraphrase of the latter: 'a free rendering or amplification of a passage, expression of its sense in other words' (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 6th ed., 1976), preserving its identity in the main, while escaping from the observance of all details of time, rhythm and phrasing. By way of example of identity preserved amid free expression: the Prelude takes its first two drumbeat-periods from the first two measures of the Broaching (1 and 2), then its third period from the next two measures (3 and 4), its fourth period from the next three measures (5 to 7), and its fifth period from the last three measures (12 to 14). There are further examples of freedom exercised with restraint: the only use of the sub-dominant in either tune (a tiny detail) is reproduced in exactly the same position in both – at the beginning of the third period and the third measure; again, the prominent mediant-cadence in measures 6 and 10 of the Broaching is omitted from the Prelude, where the super-final is preferred from measures 7 and 11. Periods 5 and 7 are identical, thereby adding five extra binary beats beyond the measured time-span of the Broaching.

Emulating the skilful invention of musical intelligences thirteen or more centuries ago, the following comparative table reconciles the Prelude (in seven measures of 4/2) with the same number of binary beats as the Broaching, while retaining the period-divisions and cadence-notes of the original. The exercise demonstrates several elements of musical style of the primary *Tōgaku* repertory. A developed modal language is always subject to the energy and ingenuity of a strong native musicality, operating within established modal constraints.

Prelude & Broaching (conflations), with adaptation of the Prelude as seven 4/2-measures

In the 'History of pieces of this, or related, title' (Fascicle 4, p. 2), it was pointed out that the melody of *Koinju* also serves as melody for the *Saibara* song: *Tanaka no ido* 'At the Well in the Field'. E.J.M. has transcribed the *Koinju* Broaching and the *Saibara* song-melodies from Moronaga's lute-scores (Markham, 1983, vol. 1, p. 208), displaying the *Saibara* melody in the *Sōjō* mode-key, in ten measures of 2/2, and without repeated phrases. The *Saibara* version equates with measures 1 to 4 and 9 to 14 of the *Tōgaku* version examined here. The following table shows the *Saibara* melody placed over the conflation of the Broaching of *Koinju*. The former, realised from *JCYR* and *SGYR*, where the *katakana*-syllables of the text are written beside the instrumental tablatures (Markham, vol. 2, p. 280), has been transposed from the *Sōjō* mode-key on *g* to the *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key on *d*, and adapted to mouth-organ pitch and scale, for comparison. The two melodies are closely similar.

Saibara: Tanaka no ido
Ta - na - ka no i - do ni, Hi - ka - re - ru ta - na - gi, Tsu - me tsu - me a - ko-me,
Tōgaku: Koinju no Ha
Ko a-ko-me ta - ri ra ri
Ta - na-ka no ko a-ko-me.

Upper stave: vocal line of *Tanaka no ido*, restored by E.J.M., transposed to *Ichikotsu-chō* and mouth-organ scale of other conflations.
Lower stave: conflation of *Koinju no Ha* in mouth-organ scale of *Ichikotsu-chō*.

A view of modality in *Koinju* may be gained from a weighted-scale formula into which data representing note-durations (taking a quarter-note as the basic unit), note-recurrences, and initial and final notes of drumbeat-periods and measures are fed. The figures quoted are totals obtained by calculating the total duration of each note of the basic scale of each composition. From calculations of this kind, modal facts regarding the two movements of the suite, separately and jointly, can be determined and, to a certain extent, interpreted. In some respects these facts may be relevant to other items; but they relate specifically to the piece from which the data are derived. This procedure may be profitable when several kinds of movement are associated under the same title, and particularly so when these are variants of each other. The data display the skill and perception exercised by musically intelligent craftsmen. Lettered or unlettered as these musicians may have been in Western terms, in the cultural and geographical contexts where this art-form thrived, their creations were evidently practical, functional and estimable, satisfying both the participants and the society in which they subsisted.

The data assembled from weighted-scale applications are set out in four double-columns in a comparative table. Each movement is labelled by its position in the suite, the Prelude being 1; the Broaching, 2. Comparable portions of the movements are placed together under headings I, II and III. Cadence-notes from each division are marked in bold type.

	I		II		III		IV	
	Prelude	Broaching					Grand	Totals
Movement	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Periods/Measures	1 to 3	1 to 4	4 to 5	5 to 8	6 to 7	9 to 14	1 to 7	1 to 14
Notes *a*	**23**	**13**	4	**5.5**	4	5.5	31	24
b	8	1.5	8	4	8	9	24	14.5
d	12	11	**20**	8.5	**17**	**18**	**49**	**37.5**
e	4	1.5	12	6	15	9	31	16.5
f♯	2	6	6	12	6	14.5	14	32.5
g	5	3	–	–	–	–	5	3

The expected dominant/mode-final authority, established in both movements at the outset, is soon reduced in favour of other paired-note relationships. Although the mode-final retains its individual strength to the end of each piece, the note closest to it through the remainder of the Prelude is the super-final, while in the complementary areas of the Broaching it is the mediant. The dominant contributes little through portions II and III but, as its initial weight is so strong, the importance of the dominant for the balance of each complete melody is not lost. In the Grand Totals for each tune, the dominant ranks second (1), and third (2), in order of priority of all notes.

In the Prelude, the sub-mediant maintains a consistent position not occupied by the same note in the Broaching, where it is displaced by the bright and strong mediant. The mediant is a weak melodic contributor in the Prelude, but from the third measure of the Broaching onwards it is the note closest in weight to the mode-final.

Of technical interest in items previously examined was the relationship of the third and the sixth to the final. In the first portion of the *Koinju*-Prelude the three most important notes at first are: *a*, *d* and *b*, and later: *d*, *e* and *b*. In the first portion of the *Koinju*-Broaching, the strongest notes are *a*, *d* and *f♯*, changing to *f♯*, *d*, *e* and *a*, and then to *d*, *f♯*, *e* and *b*. Summarising statements of note-priorities in the two movements, the four strongest notes (out of six) are *d*, *a*, *e* and *b* in the Prelude, and *d*, *f♯*, *a* and *e* in the Broaching; three of the notes are the same; and the cycle of fifths is evident, with *b* of the first movement replaced by *f♯* in the second. The pieces are infact very similar, even though they differ in style, form and character.

The feature of interest here is not so much the several orders of comparative strengths of the notes, but the consistent positions, in hierarchies of notes, of the sub-mediant in the Prelude and the mediant in the Broaching. Both notes are the traditional *bian*, the auxiliary notes of the basic scale, the *Gongdiao* (on *c*), a Lydian octave-set, of which the *Shangdiao* of *Koinju* was theoretically an inversion (on *d*), not a transposition, a Mixolydian octave-set. Centuries before Tang, the auxiliary notes of the basic Lydian scale, outside the prime, pentatonic order, appear to have been proscribed from positions of modal importance or responsibility in the basic scale and its inversions; yet here in the present compositions, both notes exert tensions on the mode-final, and from opposite directions: the sub-mediant in the Prelude, the mediant in the Broaching. Admittedly, mediant and sub-mediant do not function as drumbeat-period initials or finals in the Prelude; but the Broaching displays six initials and two finals on the mediant, and one initial and two finals on the sub-mediant.

Evidence from other, and larger, *Tōgaku* suites strengthens the view that, by the time of their transference from China to Japan, the *Ichikotsu-chō* group included pieces in which the basic pentatonic scale (of 2+2+3+2 semitones) on *d* behaved as the Chinese *Gongdiao* pentatonic scale, transposed one whole tone higher (from *c* to *d*), rather than as an inversion of the prototype-scale. This transposed scale preserved its original structure and hierarchy of notes and retained their individual and collective responsibilities within the closed system. In the case of the pure Shang mode on *d*, the fundamental five notes were theoretically *d–e–g–a–c*, with *d* as final and *f♯* and *b* as *bian*. In fact, however, *Koinju*, like other pieces in this series, is in a Mixolydian scale of which the basic notes are *d–e–f♯–a–b*, with *d* as final, and with *g* and *c* acting as *bian*. *c* is not touched in either movement, while *g* is heard only twice in the Prelude and once in the Broaching. The differences between the two practices – mode as inversion or transposition of the basic scale – are important both structurally and technically. Evidence from *Ichikotsu-chō/Yiyue diao* (*Shang*) pieces in this mode-key, transcribed in the several fascicles of *Music from the Tang Court*, reveals ambivalence, in theory and practice, by the ninth century, in China and Japan. From that time at the latest, neither system – neither *Gong* nor *Shang* – was strictly preserved or wholly abandoned.

Items differ, particularly with regard to the roles of *f♯* and *b*, and *g* and *c*, without necessarily adhering consistently to a single pair of the first, or of the latter, two notes. In *Koinju*, as pointed out, while *c* is absent from both movements, and *g* performs the lightest of roles, certain weight is placed on *f♯* and *b*, although their weights differ in the two movements. In the Prelude, the sub-mediant merits half the weight of the mode-final, and the mediant less than one third; whereas in the Broaching, the mediant earns a total near to that of the mode-final, leaving the sub-mediant well behind. Expressed in another way: in the Prelude, the sub-mediant merits 15.6 percent, the mediant 9.1 percent and the mode-final 31.8 percent, of the total weight of the scale; while in the Broaching, the mediant earns 25.4 percent, the sub-mediant 11.3 percent, and the mode-final 29.3 percent, of the total weight of the scale. The figures suggest that mediant and sub-mediant are no longer *auxiliary* notes (*bian*) in an inversion of the first, basic (Lydian) mode on *c*.

Style and technique in music often elude definition; but the attempt to define is irresistibly fascinating. It will be remembered that, although *Hu yin jiu/Koinju* is not specifically listed in Tang documents (Fascicle 4, p. 2), similar titles are listed; furthermore, the Japanese (including Moronaga) describe the suite as 'old music'. What value can be placed on this description? It is probable that the Japanese tradition rested more on what was learned directly from emissaries returning from China than from Tang sources. Very probably *Koinju* was indeed made in a region tributary to the Tang Court, was absorbed into the music of the Chinese Court, and thence passed to Japan, there to be performed in emulation of the brilliant dance-entertainments witnessed in Changan and so much admired by the missions from Japan. It has been pointed out that the Japanese at some time re-classified *Koinju* (Fascicle 4, p. 9) for reasons not recorded, transferring the pieces from 'Music of the Left' (*Tōgaku*) to 'Music of the Right' (*Komagaku*). The Broaching, however, remains to this day listed in the official *Tōgaku* transcriptions of a recent Musical Director of the Court, Shiba Sukehiro (see Shiba, 1969, 2, pp. 64 and 141 in *Sōjō*). A sub-

sequent Director, Tōgi Masataro, attributes *Koinju* to 'the repertoire of Indian and Southeast Asian Music and Dance' (1971, p. 125). Association with the Champa pieces, however (Fascicle 4, p. 2) does not necessarily override the Sogdian connection. To this may be added that an alternative, and perhaps more apt, interpretation of *Kogaku* is offered in Fascicle 4, p. 2? ". . .exotic – 'foreign' – from a *Chinese* point of view. . .". Howbeit, it can be averred (1) that the Prelude is conservative in style – possibly a Japanese paraphrase of the original foreign tune; (2) that the Broaching is certainly not composed in the archaic style of Chinese ritual melodies, but rather in that of the lively 'Wine-Puppet' (p. 88); and (3) that the origins of the suite may well lie not in China, nor in Japan, but elsewhere, and in a time anterior to the seventh century.

9 *Ka-kyokushi/He quzi* 'Ka's Piece'

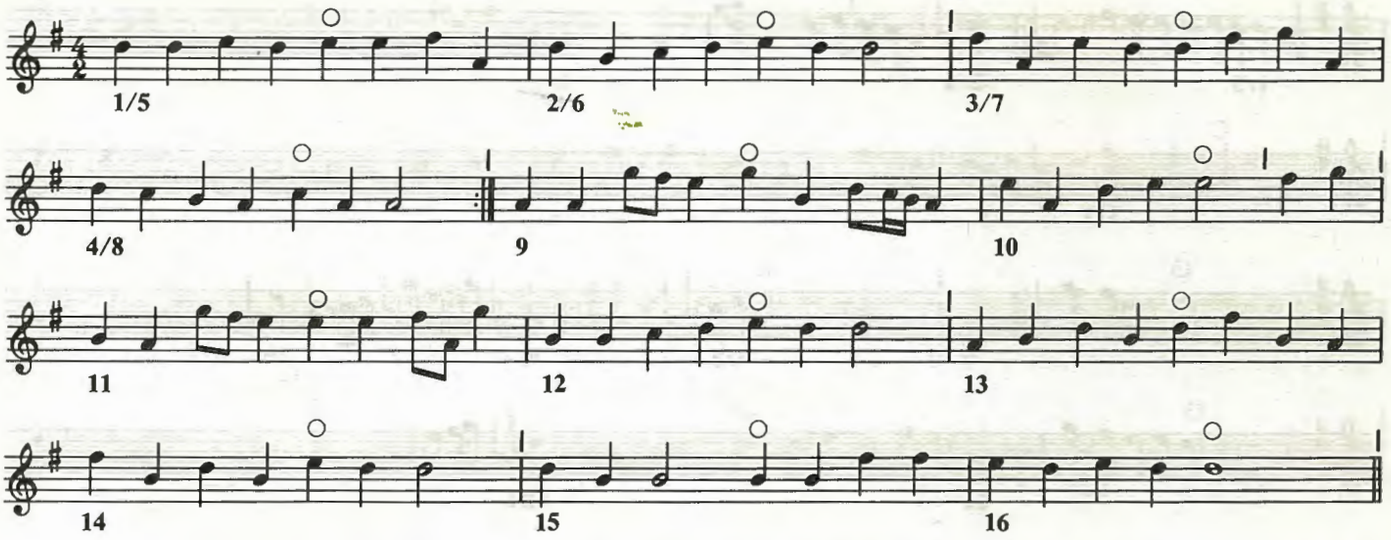
Ka-kyokushi is the first melody consisting of sixteen regular measures in 4/2 in Moronaga's listing of *Tōgaku* items in this modal group. Of the movements with sixteen drum-beats examined so far, three show periods of unequal length, marked off by cadence-formulae and drum-beats (*Toraden*: Prelude, Section 1, 101 binary beats; Stamping, 47 binary beats in the primary version; and *Shunnō-den*: Prelude, 101 binary beats); two are partly measured in 4/2 and partly unmeasured (*Toraden*: Prelude, Sections 2 and 3, 75 binary beats each, almost the same music repeated); two more are partly measured in 3/2 and partly unmeasured (*Toraden*: Entering Broaching, 50 binary beats; Quick Tune, 51 binary beats); another two are evenly measured thoughout in 3/2 (*Shunnō-den*: Entering Broaching and Quick Tune, 48 binary beats each – the same piece, repeated). One additional movement should be listed here, the *Stamping* of *Shunnō-den*, although this is twice the length of *Ka-kyokushi*, namely, 128 binary beats in 32 measures. The melody of *Ka-kyokushi* (in sixteen regular measures) is played through twice consecutively in a single performance. This is the ninth title and twenty-fifth movement of the *Ichikotsu-chō* group under discussion and, of them all, it is the only one in what became, perhaps, the most popular form for dance-tunes in the West – sixteen measures, phrased in groups of two and four.

Contrary to *our* predilection in urban song and dance for elements neatly paired off (like rhyming couplets and quatrains) and adding up to multiples of four, the musical taste of Tang society was evidently sworn to the binary principle in time and rhythm, with stress on odd-beats and relief on even-beats. Formal lengths of individual melodies differ widely from 29 binary beats (*Shunnō-den*: Processional, unmeasured) to 365 binary beats (*Ō-dai hajin-raku*: Broaching, in six partly measured and unmeasured Sections); and, in single tunes, completely measured (without counting repeats), from 20 binary beats (*Kansuiraku*, later) to 128 binary beats (*Shunnō-den*: Stamping).

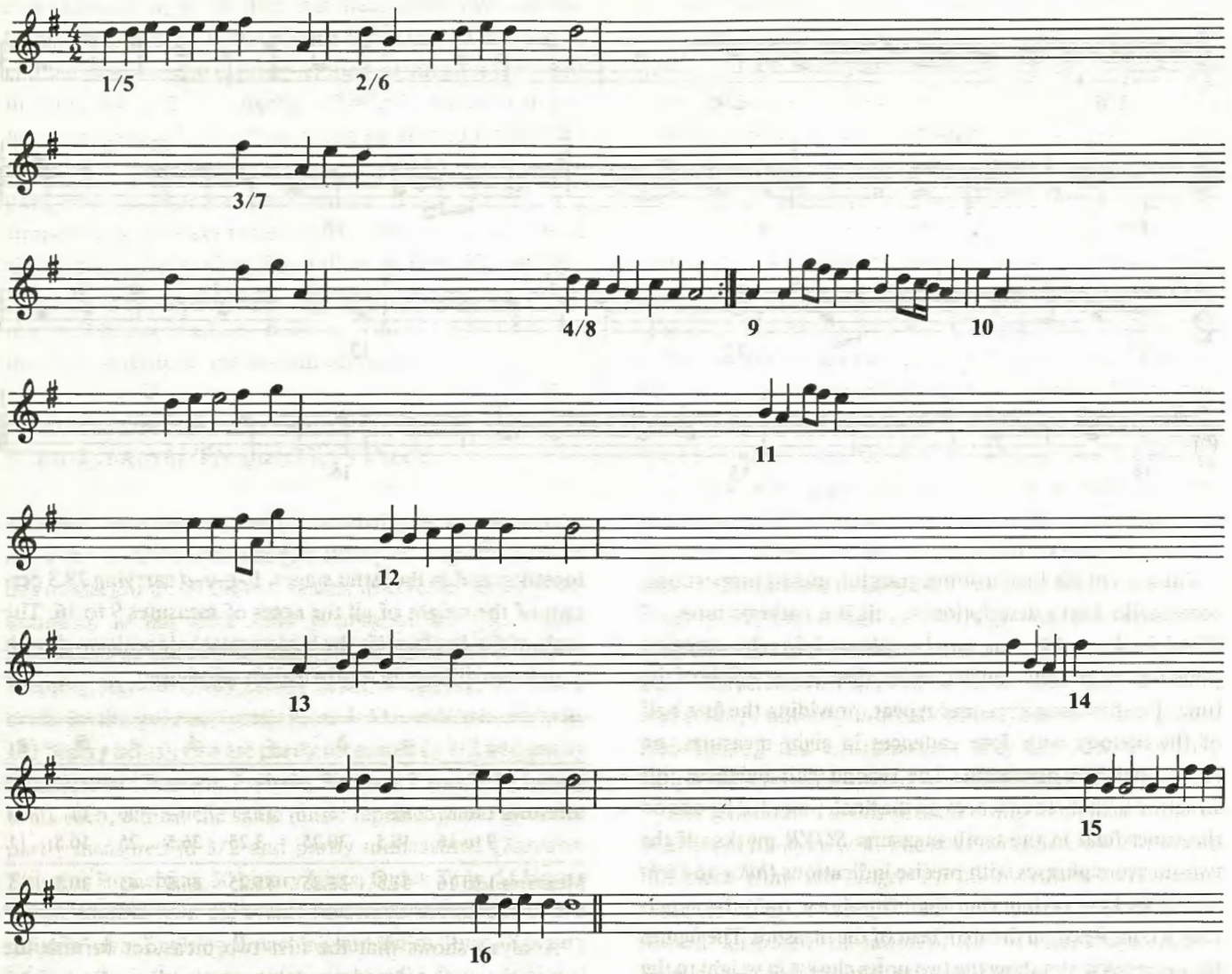
The small forms of many *Tōgaku* tunes did not necessarily limit the lengths of instrumental and dance-items in performance, since many pieces are prefaced with directions to repeat them a specified number of times. Quite frequently, prefatory notes include instructions to vary the repetitions at certain places by adding drum-beats (*sandobyōshi*, for instance), thus increasing textural density and animation, and at times to change tempo at specified points – for example, by adopting the preludial manner of playing. *Kakyokushi* is not prefaced by such comments, the absence of which may be due to the dance's having been forgotten.

An example of an item preceded by instructions to performers is *Gyokuju gotei-ka* 'A Jade-Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' (p. 35 and Fascicle 3, pp. 9, 10). Preceding this piece there are many instructions, but to what points in performance they refer is not always clear, nor are all the terms understood. What is clear, however, is that the piece was still performed, with music and dance, into the Kamakura period; that the music had, in the past, been played eight times in a single performance; and that changes were made affecting tempo, texture and instrumentation, during the course of the item. The piece illustrates well the resource of Tang musicians and dancers working as artists within their own limitations, and making the entertainment they provided musically supple, functionally diverse, and aesthetically gratifying.

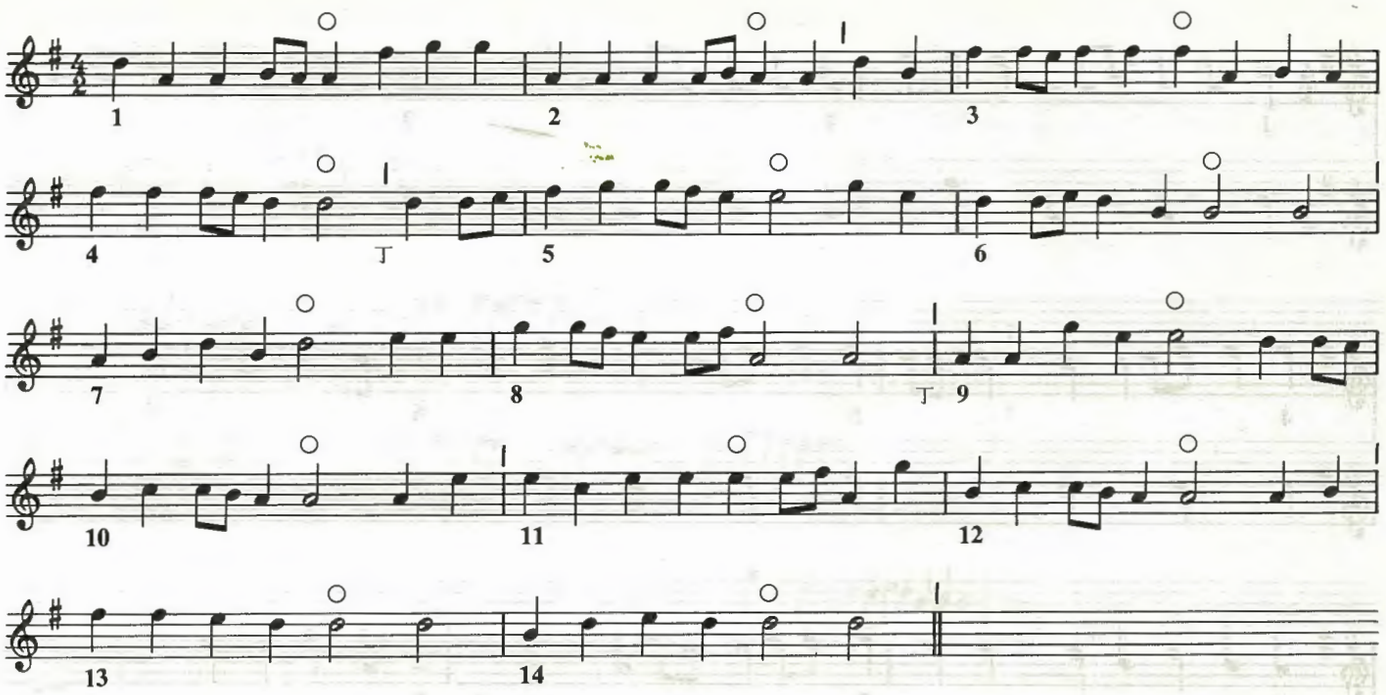
The remainder of this present study completes a minor analysis of *Ka-kyokushi*. The interesting account of the solo lute-piece from the *Gogen kin-fu/Ka Manshi/He Manzi* (Fascicle 4, p. 15) tempts the musicologist and historian towards an edited realisation of R.F.W.'s transcription, and thence to analysis and comparison with *Ka-kyokushi/He quzi*; but such a diversion would take us outside the modal group to which all titles so far considered belong.

A conflation of *Ka-kyokushi* from the sources was unnecessary; since there are only small and inconsequential discrepancies between versions, that of the Toyohara tradition has been accepted. Although elimination of four measures by official decree – one quarter of the tune – sounds mysterious, as do accounts of the fate of He Manzi herself (Fascicle 4, p. 11), what more simple way of reducing the length of the tune than to ignore a repeat of the first four measures? An equally simple reason for the reduction can be offered, namely, that by the tenth century retardation was becoming a serious problem, affecting the amount of time taken up at court when melodies and dances from the foreign repertoire were performed. Bear in mind too Bo Juyi's verse '. . .the song has eight repeats' (Fascicle 4, p. 11). In the present context, the tune is retained in its original, complete condition.

The lines of *Ka-kyokushi* are graceful; and its proportions, comely. Bo Juyi's description: '. . .it is a pathetic tune. . .' (Fascicle 4, p. 11) was surely coloured by the emotion generated by text and context, rather than by the *Affekt* of the tune. The first four measures repeat, providing the first half of the melody with four cadences in eight measures, on mode-final and dominant. The second half balances this structure with three cadences on the final, preceded by one on the super-final in the tenth measure. *SGYR* marks off the two-measure phrases with precise indications (*hiku* and *ichi* signs), making certain that the fifth phrase onto the super-final is completed on the sixth beat of the measure. The figures for weighted scales show the two notes closest in weight to the mode-final: in measures 1 to 8, *a* and *e*; in measures 9 to 16, *b* and *e*; and over all, *a* and *e*. The principle of dominant relationships in the composition is evident: *d–a–e–b* carrying 78.6 percent of the weight of all the notes of measures 1 to 8 together; and in the latter stages, *b–e–a–d* carrying 78.3 percent of the weight of all the notes of measures 9 to 16. The scale of *Ka-kyokushi* is the basic pentatonic scale on *d*, with *g* and *c* auxiliaries in a Mixolydian octave-set.

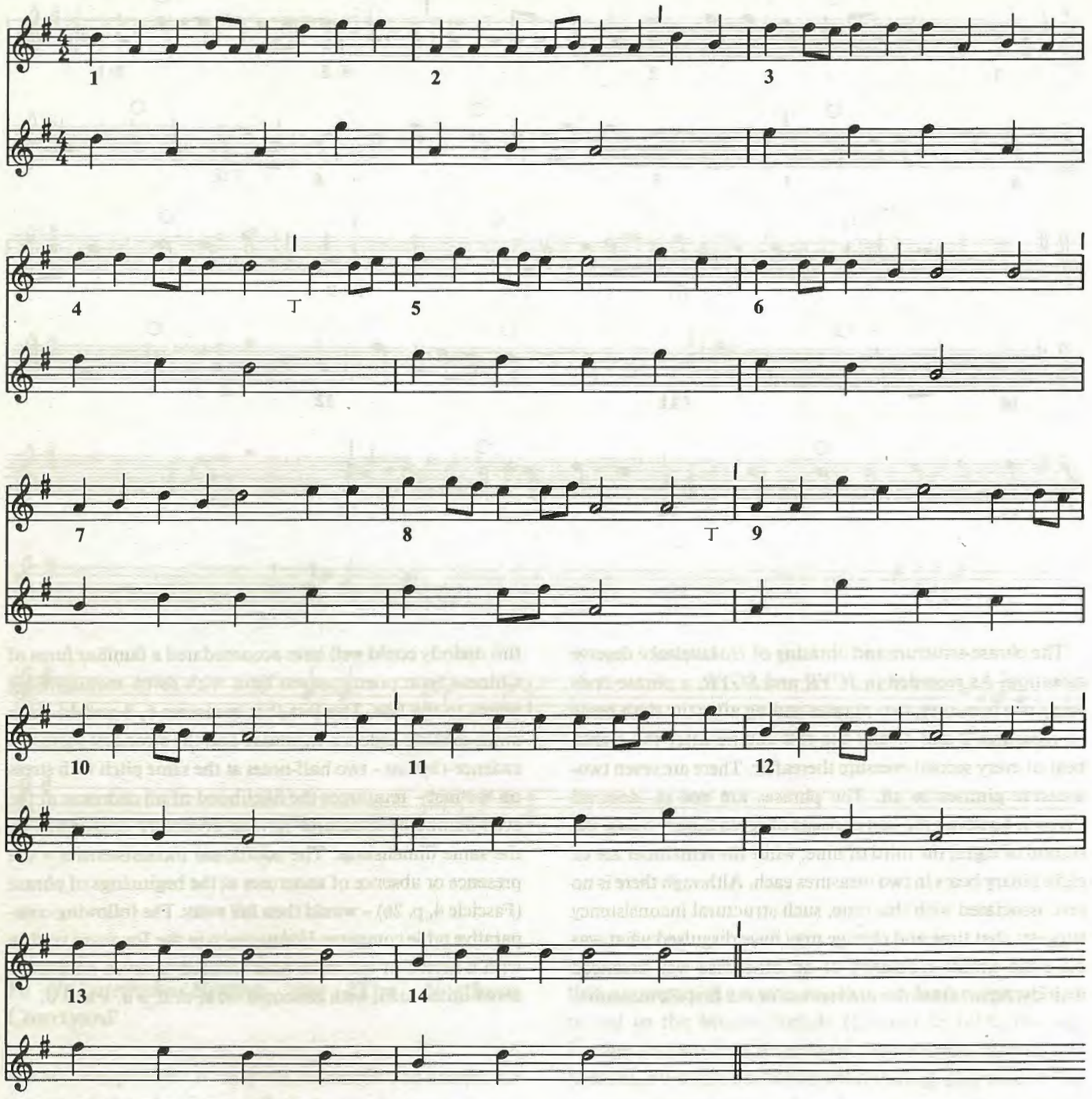
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Scale							
Measures 1 to 8	**32**	8	12	50	20	14	4
9 to 16	19.5	30.25	3.25	**36.5**	25	16.5	11
Measures 1 to 16	51.5	38.25	15.25	**86.5**	45	30.5	15

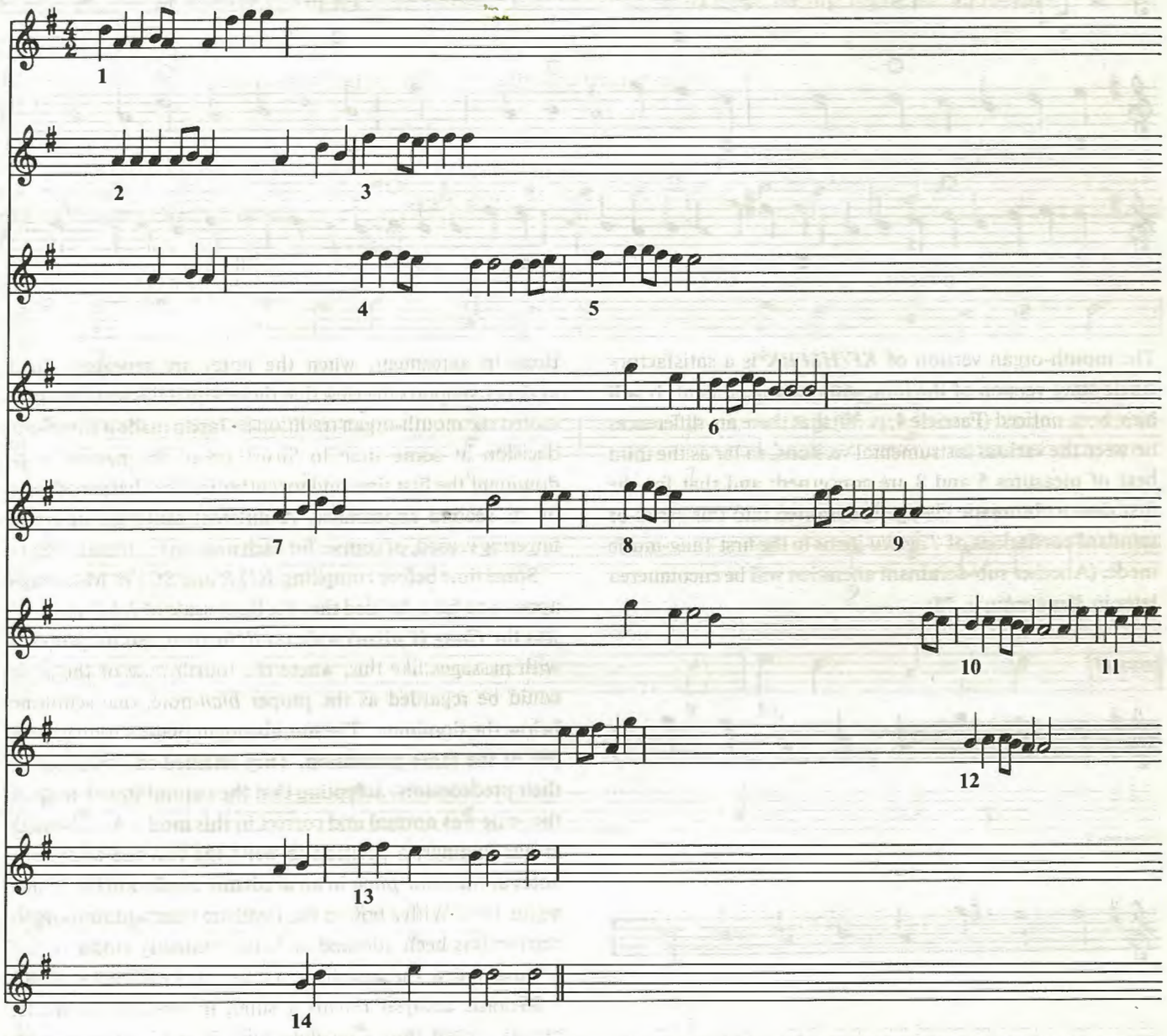
Analysis shows that the first two measures furnish the ground material for formulaic construction of a major part of the piece, and that measure 2, and the five variant cadence-formulae on the mode-final, serve to integrate the structure.

10 *Hokuteiraku/Beiting yue* 'The Northern Courtyard'

KF/HSFRK provides a complete, authentic and acceptable version of the piece; to conflate, in this instance, is unnecessary. The prefaces to the tablatures agree that the tune consists of fourteen drum-beats or measures, and that it was to be played four times as a single item, the last time with additional drum-beats. It is a middle-sized composition from the 'new music' and seems to have been widely known and retained in performance on and into Kamakura times. With consistent versions in the different sources, the introductory remarks in the sources are agreed that the music of this title accompanied a dance, and that the dancers entered and retired to the Modal Prelude (*Chōshi*) in *Ichikotsu-chō*. Further support for the view that the item was still extant is Moronaga's direction: 'when abbreviating, play twice.' The reduced number of times, from four to two, confirms what is known to have become an inconvenience by the twelfth century. As tempos became appreciably slower, temporal and physical strains on participants and spectators necessitated a reduction in the number of times a piece was played and danced during a single performance. The marginal gloss in the string scores records reservations about adding drum-beats when abbreviating, but not about the abbreviation itself.



The phrase-structure and phrasing of *Hokuteiraku* deserve attention. As recorded in *JCYR* and *SGYR*, a phrase ends every two measures, two phrases ending after the sixth beats of measures 2 and 4, and the rest ending after the eighth beat of every second measure thereafter. There are seven two-measure phrases in all. The phrases are not in identical rhythm, however: the first consists of seven binary beats; the second of eight; the third of nine; while the remainder are of eight binary beats in two measures each. Although there is no text associated with this tune, such structural inconsistency suggests that time and change may have disguised what was once the simple regularity of an otherwise well-balanced melody. Apart from the unevenness of the first six measures, this melody could well have accomodated a familiar form of Chinese lyric poetry: seven lines with seven monosyllabic words to the line. The fact that measures 6, 8 and 14 show unmistakable cadence-formulae and the strongest forms of cadence-rhythm – two half-notes at the same pitch with stress on the first – reinforces the likelihood of all cadences in the even-numbered measures having originally conformed to the same dimensions. The additional inconsistencies – the presence or absence of anacruses at the beginnings of phrase (Fascicle 4, p. 26) – would then fall away. The following comparative table compares *Hokuteiraku* in the Toyohara version with a sketch of the same tune reduced to seven phrases of seven notes each, with cadences on *a*, *d*, *b*, *a a*, *a* and *d*.

Hokuteiraku: two versions in parallel

Hokuteiraku: formulaic analysis

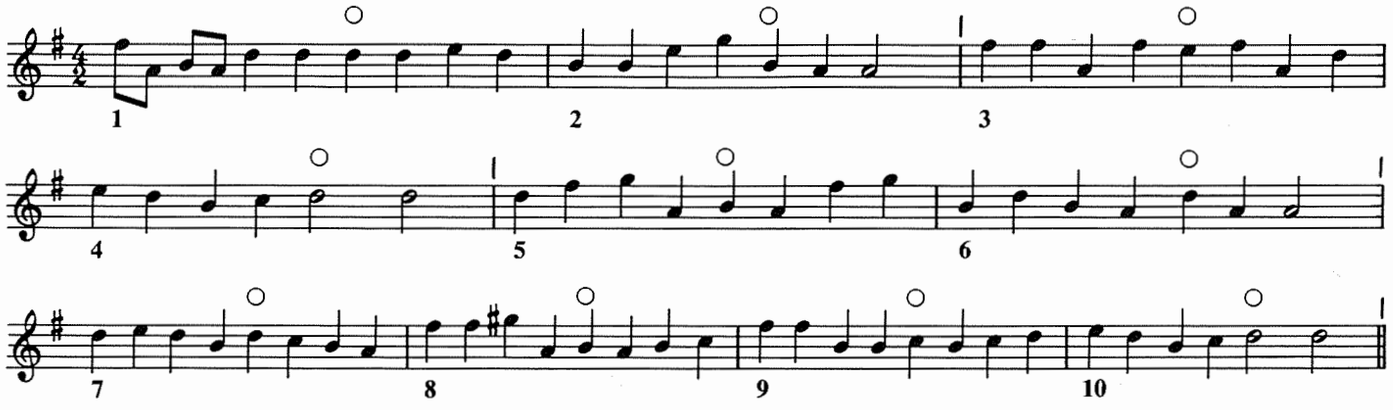


Hokuteiraku and *Gyokuju gotei-ka* (p. 35) are both compositions of fourteen measures in 4/2 and in the heptatonic, Mixolydian scale on *d*. The basic pentatonic scale carries the tonal weight of both melodies, with *g* and *c* in *bian* (or auxiliary) roles between degrees 3 and 5, and 6 and 8. Of the total weight of all notes of *Gyokuju gotei-ka*, the five primary notes carry 86.1 percent, and the two auxiliary notes 13.9 percent; of the total weight of all notes of *Hokuteiraku*, the same primary notes carry 87.4 percent and the auxiliary notes 12.6 percent. Other similarities may be pursued on some other occasion.

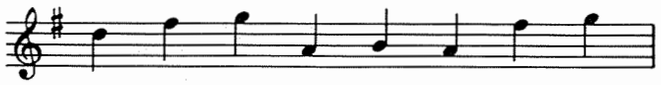
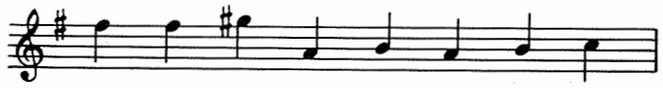
The form of 'A Jade-Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' is well integrated and sectionally balanced, while 'The Northern Courtyard' is through composed, avoiding repetition of whole measures or pairs of measures. The independent activity of each composition is partly demonstrated by comparing the sequences of cadence-notes at the ends of two-measure phrases:

'A Jade-Tree's Rear-Court Blossom'	*d, a, a, d, d, d, d*;
'The Northern Courtyard'	*a, d, b, a, a, a, d.*

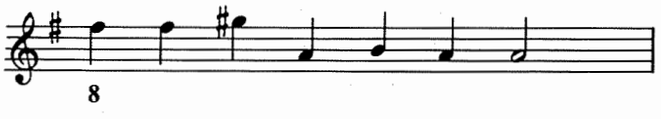
11 *Shō-ō-raku/Ying Shao yue* 'Responding to the Shao'

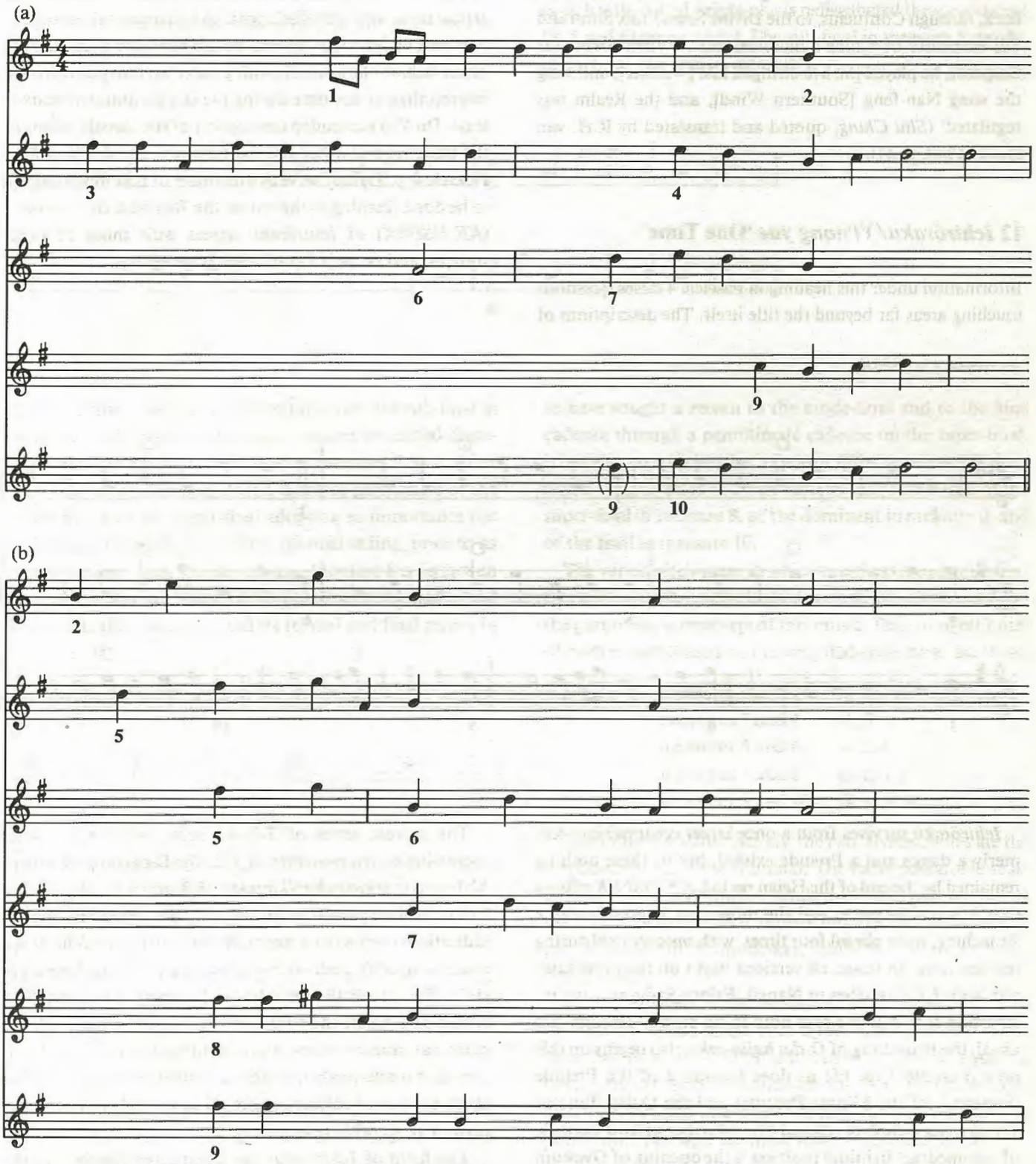


The mouth-organ version of *KF/HSFRK* is a satisfactory single-stave version of the tune without amendment. It will have been noticed (Fascicle 4, p. 30) that there are differences between the various instrumental versions, so far as the third beat of measures 5 and 8 are concerned; and that for the first time a chromatic change is admitted into this series of standard conflations of *Tōgaku*-items in the first Tang-music mode. (Another sub-dominant alteration will be encountered later in *Kasuiraku*, p. 78)

measure 5

measure 8

In measure 5, neither of the mouth-organ scores requires the note on the third beat to be raised; but both string-versions require the sub-dominant to be raised systematically throughout, in keeping with Moronaga's re-interpretation of *Ichikotsu-chō* in the second half of the twelfth century. In measure 8, both mouth-organ versions require the sub-dominant to be raised, as for the bass-lute; but this time the subdominant is absent from the zither-version. In measure 5, the scores mirror the different practices of the disparate wind- and string-traditions, while measure 8 shows the two traditions in agreement, when the notes are repeated. Such evidence supports the view that those who influenced and promoted the mouth-organ tradition in Japan made a conscious decision at some time to 'insist upon' the natural sub-dominant the first time and to 'authorise' the sharpened note on its second appearance. A different tablature-sign and fingering is used, of course, for each note on the mouth-organ.

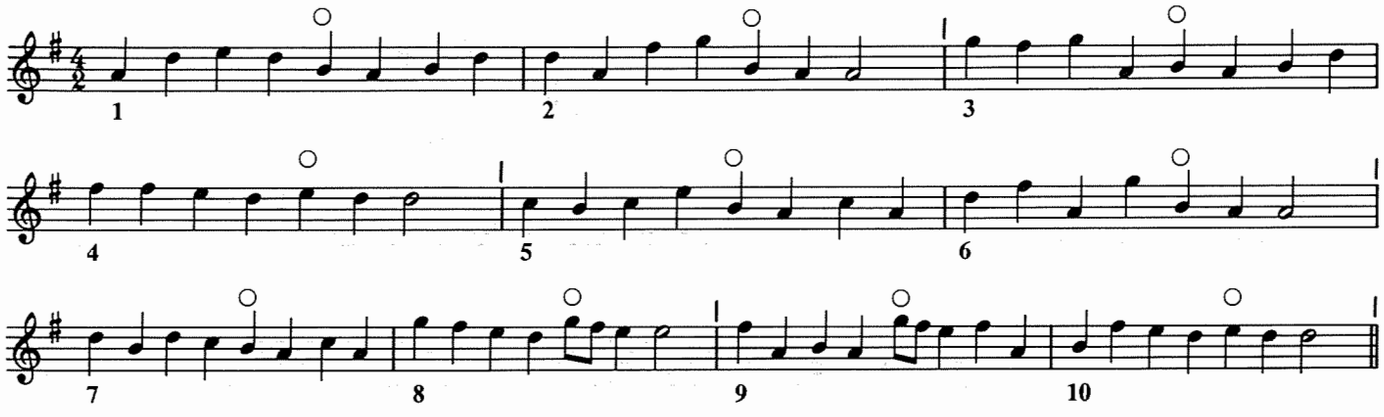
Some time before compiling *JCYR* and *SGYR*, Moronaga appears to have decided that the basic scale of *Ichikotsu-chō* was the *Gong* (Lydian) scale on *d*; *he* then had no problem with passages like this, where the fourth note of the scale could be regarded as the proper *bian*-note, one semitone below the dominant. The mouth-organ players were clearly not of the same persuasion. They retained the practices of their predecessors, accepting that the natural fourth note of the scale was normal and correct in this mode. At this stage in our findings, a decision to write the two sub-dominant notes *at the same pitch* in an academic conflation could not be justified. With a bow to the Toyohara clan, a mouth-organ version has been adopted as being probably closer to the original and, at the same time, supported by evidence to hand.

Melodic analysis reveals a small number of formulae, closely woven into a resolute tune in ten measures, with cadence-patterns and *ichi*-signs at the ends of measures 2, 4, 6, and 10. One might argue for a cadence in measure 8 on the ground that, as it stands, this measure is a variant of a standard, dominant cadence-form, originally (perhaps) the final two beats could have been contained in a half-note *a*:

resembling other dominant cadences in measures 2 and 6, as shown later in the second analytical table. In this form (p. 70), the melody would flow through measures 7 to 10 with added weight and symmetry. In its present condition, however, the sequential imitation of measure 8 (in measure 9) is a simple, but positive, musical device that prepares effectively for the concluding affirmations of the final cadence. The essential musicality and balance of the entire four-measure passage is itself sufficient evidence of probable authenticity. Whether the sub-dominant is raised or not is, in this instance, of little consequence for the quality of the composition and the texture of the melody as a whole. Two analytical tables are provided to show separately the dependance of the melodic patterns on *either* the first *or* the second measure.

Two formulaic tables: each stave of (a) is continued in (b) and returns to (a)

Shō-ō-raku is a further example of a piece made from the basic pentatonic scale on *d*, filled out with the fourth and seventh of the Mixolydian octave-set. The two auxiliaries, whether raised or natural, contribute only 12.5 percent of the total weight of the tune. Its construction allows four cadences, alternately on *a* and *d*; the mode-final cadence that rises from the sub-mediant is a less frequent pattern in this series. The bright confidence of the melody is set off by the prominence of dominant, mediant and final, the combined overtones of which invoke images of sonorous mouth-organs, ceremonious rituals and Royal Rites of Passage. In its title, the *Shao* harks back, through Confucius, to the Divine Sages, Yao, Shun and Yu, emperors of China's mythical past. 'When Shun was Emperor, he played the five-stringed lute [=zither], and sung the song Nan-feng [Southern Wind], and the Realm was regulated' (*Shu Ching*, quoted and translated by R.H. van Gulik, 1940, p. 41).

12 *Ichirōraku/Yi'nong yue* 'One Time'

Information under this heading in Fascicle 4 raises questions touching areas far beyond the title itself. The descriptions of various kinds of Chinese music and dance, and how they were performed in the seventh century, of Chinese classifications beyond Japanese Left and Right, Old and New, and Size and Mode – interesting and important as these are – serve to make the musicologist regret the vast historical and theoretical lacunae in our knowledge of the musical past. Ignorance in these areas is additional to uncertainty as to the precise meanings of certain titles. The transcriber of tablatures is more fortunate. A great deal of work has now been done on the transcription of Tang-music tablatures, and the systems used in Japan for recording pitch, musical time, and methods of articulation and embellishment, in instrumental music, are now well understood; indeed, we are now able to discuss the music behind the symbols with greater accuracy and critical interest than at any time during the last six hundred years at least. Du You's extended description of the classifications of the Banquet and other genres of Chinese music (*Tongdian*; Fascicle 4, p. 33) may serve as a reminder of how much has still to be done. Turning to the music: the Toyohara clan's version (*KF/HSFRK*) of *Ichirōraku* agrees with those of other sources, and no act of conflation is necessary.

Ichirōraku: *KF/HSFRK*

Ichirōraku survives from a once larger composition; formerly a dance and a Prelude existed, but of these nothing remained by the end of the Heian period. *KF/HSFRK* affirms that it is a slow piece, and the movement is presumably a Broaching, to be played four times, with *sandobyōshi* during the last time. In score, all versions begin on the dominant, although *KKS* ascribes to Nangū, Prince Sadayasu, the instruction that *b* is the first note to be blown. Though less usual, the Broaching of *Ō-dai hajin-raku* also begins on this note (Fascicle 1, p. 65) as does Section 2 of the Prelude (Section 1 of the Middle Prelude) and the Quick Tune of *Toraden* (Fascicle 2, pp. 28 and 43). A further striking example of sub-mediant in initial position is the opening of *Gyokuju gotei-ka* (Fascicle 3, p. 12).

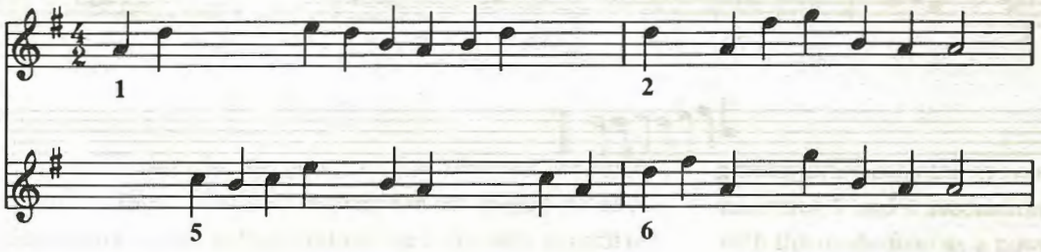
The present series of *Tōgaku*-items includes six tunes consisting of ten measures of 4/2: the Broaching of *Katen*; *Shō-ō-raku*; *Ichirōraku*; *Ikinraku*; *Shōwaraku* and *Kasuiraku*. The number of phrases in each melody (following Moronaga's indications) varies from three (*Shōwaraku*) to five (*Ichirōraku* and *Kasuiraku*), each phrase consisting of two or four measures. Except for the penultimate cadence in measure 8 of *Ichirōraku*, where the phrase finishes on the super-final, the principal cadence-notes employed in the six tunes are dominant and mode-final; and these alternate: *a, d, a, d*. The five short phrases of *Ichirōraku* are all of equal length and end on *a, d, a, e* and *d*, respectively.

The form of *Ichirōraku* has unexpected interest for the listener in that it unfolds to the dominant in phrases 1 and 3

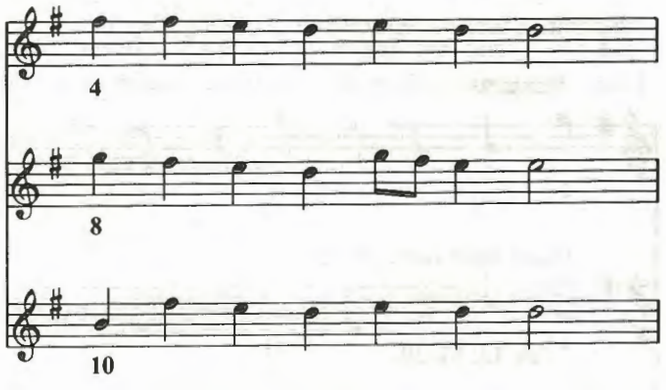
and closes back to the final in phrases 2 and 5; but during the second return it digresses through the super-final before finding its way to the mode-final cadence. It is measures 7 to 8 (the fourth phrase) that assume a brief independence and thus introduce a passing freshness, as welcome as it is unexpected. Without measures 7 to 8, the melody is musical and well-proportioned; the cadences in measures 2 and 4 are recognised in their variant forms in measures 6 and 10, and measures 1 and 2 are recognisable on return in measures 5 and 6. But there is more to the piece than that: the following figures illustrate the subtle contours of the tune through the operations of the weighted-scale formula, phrase by phrase.

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–2	**13**	6	–	10	2	2	2
3–4	4	4	–	**11**	4	7	5
5–6	**13**	6	7	3	2	2	2
7–8	5	4	4	7	**8**	3.5	4.5
9–10	7	5	–	**8**	6	8.5	1.5
Measures 1–10	42	25	11	**39**	22	23	15

The melody is heptatonic, but not consistently so. It will be noticed that measures 1 and 2 and 5 and 6 yield the same data, save that the initial weight of *d* is redistributed the second time (in 5 and 6) over *c* and *d*. The sub-final in measure 5 stands, in part, for the final in measure 1.



The comparatively strong introduction of the sub-final in measure 5, the centre of the tune, reduces the initial dominant/final governance established in measures 1 to 4. After this, measures 7 and 8 disclose a different perspective of the mode-key, with the super-final adopting an importance not hitherto provided for it, and the sub-final fading, prior to its disappearance from the last phrase. Measure 8 is in fact an imitation of measure 4 and a deflection from it; the mode-final cadence is thus deferred until its formal and final return in measure 10.

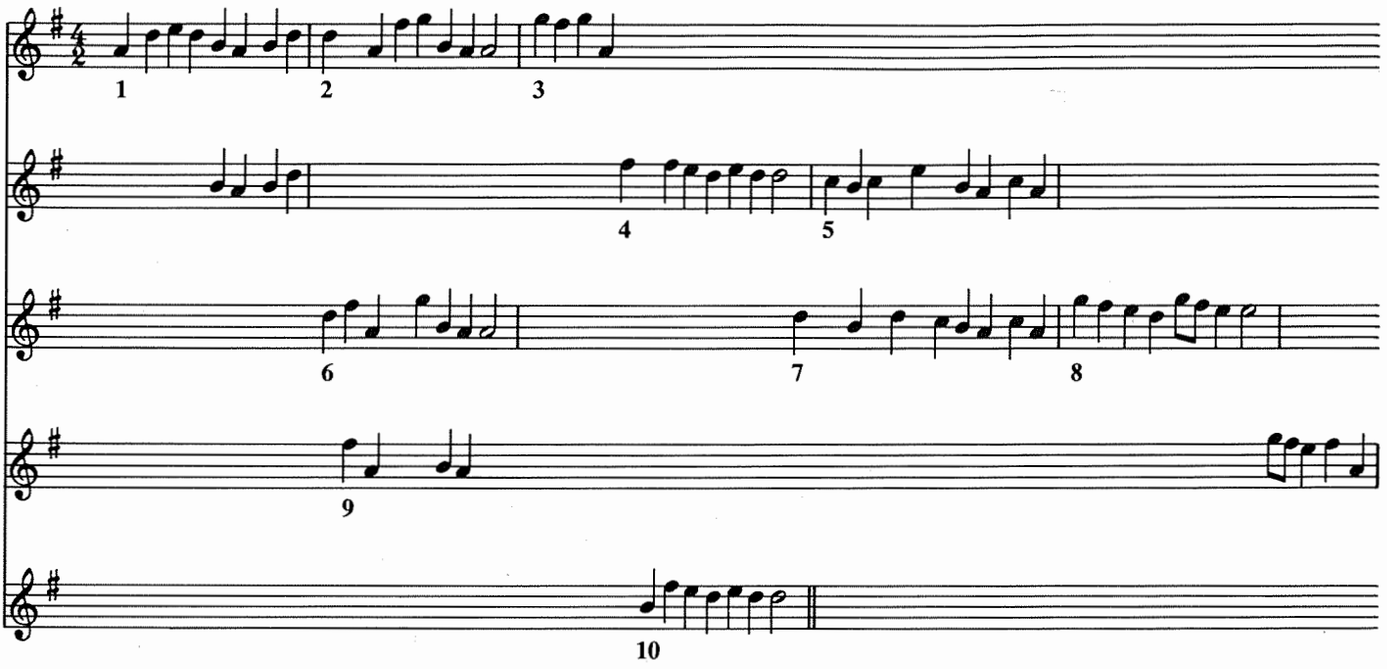


The turn of events in measures 7 and 8 is also to be found elsewhere in this repertoire. As shown in earlier analyses (first in Fascicle 2, p. 86), Chinese musicians seem quite frequently to have sought a return to the mode-final and to the final cadence through a penultimate cadence on the super-final. It has also been shown that a cycle of fifths underlies this practice, a cycle revealed in *Ichirōraku* by the prominence of the super-final in measure 8, of the dominant in measure 9, and of the final in measure 10.

The varied pitch-areas in which the phrases operate is further evidence of musical thinking and skilful management on the part of the composers of this music. The strongest notes of each phrase (based on the weighted-scale data) are these:

measures 1 and 2	*a, d, b*
measures 3 and 4	*d, f♯, g*
measures 5 and 6	*a, c, b*
measures 7 and 8	*e, d, a, g*
measures 9 and 10	*f♯, d, a, e*

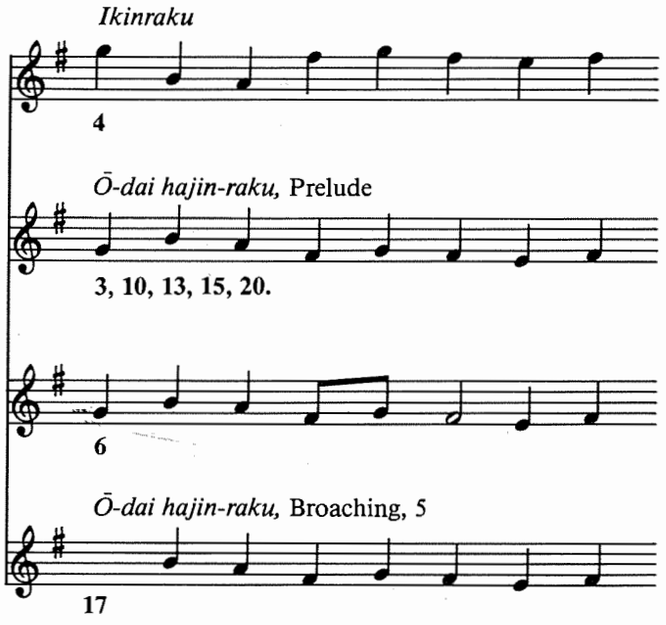
Surveying the whole melody, the two weakest notes are the sub-dominant and the sub-final. The basic pentatonic scale provides structural support; while the fourth and seventh of the Mixolydian scale on *d*, though not the theoretical *bian* of the *Shangdiao* in this mode-key, fulfill the roles of the traditional *bian*.

Having isolated certain details, let them now be restored to the whole to make music once more. A closing view of the formulae, moving as orderly patterns of continuous sound in time, recreates the profile and individuality of the melody as a well-constructed and complete musical creation that has been living, perhaps, for more than a thousand years.

13 *Ikinraku/ Yijin yue*: 'All Gold'

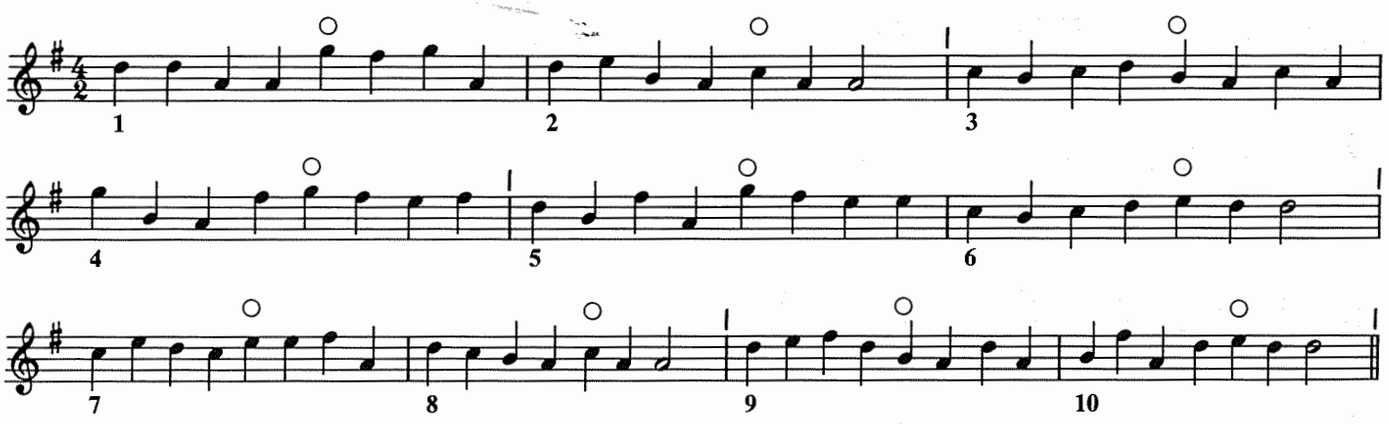
The instrumental versions of the quasi-fullscore agree on all but one of the basic notes of the tune. An interesting question is posed by the end of measure 4, where the two mouth-organ versions and *JCYR* prescribe the mediant on the eighth beat as opposed to the super-final in *SGYR*. An editorial gloss in *SGYR* records the existence of tablatures with readings as in JCYR. The secondary versions, complete in both of Moronaga's collectanea, prescribe the super-final as the last note to sound on the eighth beat; but there are also glosses to the left of the main columns, in both of the secondary versions, noting that the mediant is also played as last note of the measure. A difference of opinion seems to have existed at this point among musicians, the mediant being accepted by wind-players without evidence of variance in the two mouth-organ versions provided here, while the string-players of both zither- and lute-traditions were equally divided, with three out of the four primary and secondary versions requiring the super-final and three editorial glosses recognising mediant precedents.

In the music so far examined in this series, cadences on the mediant are relatively rare in this mode. The Prelude of *Ō-dai hajin-raku* displays none; but the Broaching offers several examples (Fascicle 1, pp. 65–82). At the opening of Section 4 of the Broaching, there is a mediant measure-final in measure 1, but this is not a phrase-final. The phrase is delimited in measure 2 by an *ichi*-sign and a cadence on the mode-final. Section 4 is, in effect, a repeat of Section 2, measures 1 to 4 being slightly varied in Section 4, and measures (or measure-equivalents) 7 to 20 being the same in both Sections. Measure 1 of Section 2 shows the superfinal as last note in all versions, while at the same point Section 4 shows the mediant. The first phrase in all versions of both Sections cadences, however, on the mode-final. Later in the Broaching (see conflations in Fascicle 2, pp. 77–9), two firm mediant-cadences occur where the sources are in no doubt. Measure equivalents 14 (in Section 5) and 3 (in Section 6) – both ending on the mediant in all versions – are specific cadence-points, marked by drum-beats and *tei*-signs. Neither of these resembles measure 1 of Section 4. The notes of measure 4 of *Ikinraku* are to be found, however, though without mediant-cadence implications in both Prelude and Broaching of *Ō-dai hajin-raku*: in the Prelude in drum-beat periods 3, 6, 10, 13, 15 and 20; and in the Broaching in Section 5, measure-equivalent 17.

Comparative table: *Ikinraku* and *Ō-dai hajin-raku*

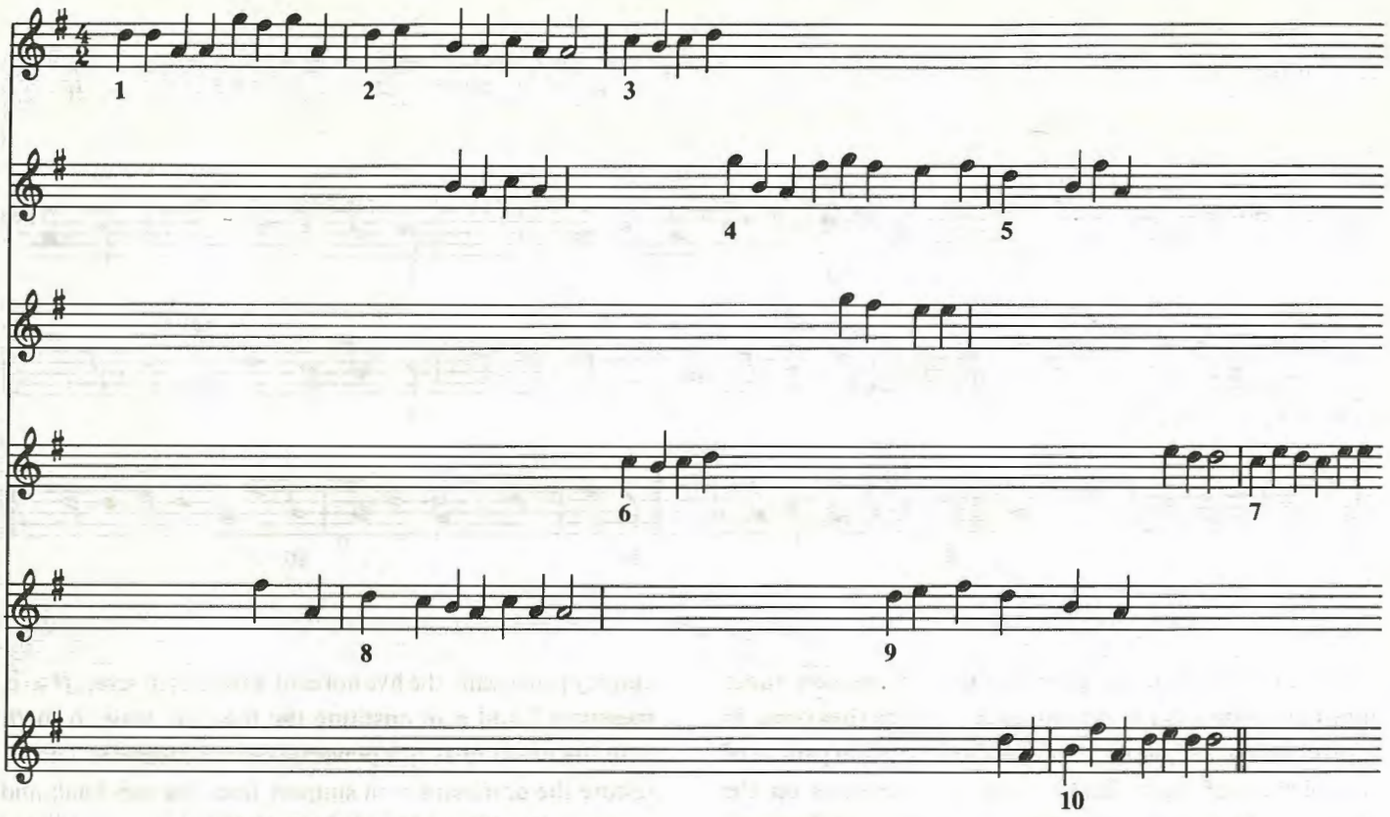


The presence of the mouth-organ pitch-character *bō* (ㇿ), *d*, at the end of measure 4 in *SSSTF* is not explained. The *KF/HSFRK* (Toyohara) version of this title has been adopted as the conflation.

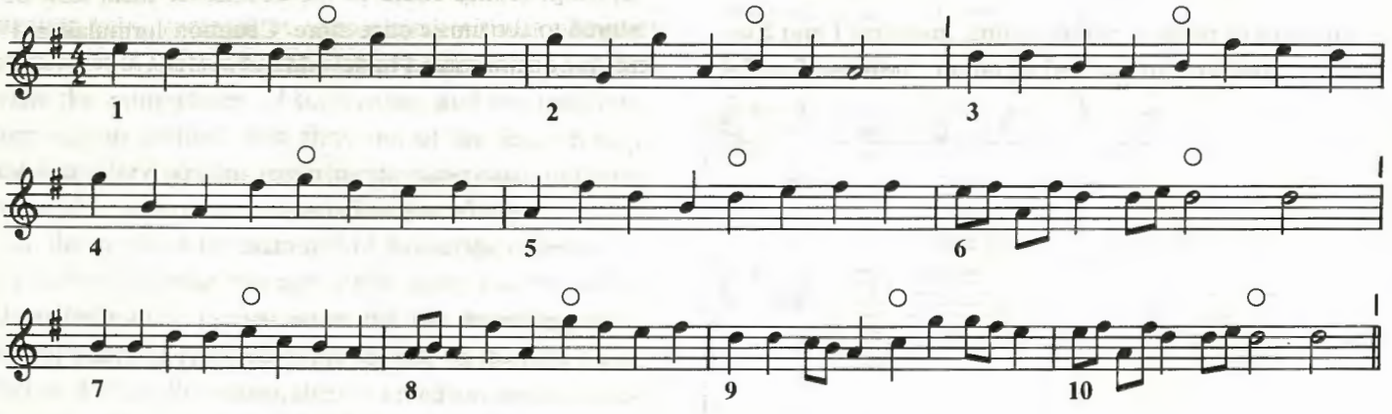
Conflation

Ikinraku (third in the group of five ten-measure tunes previously listed and in the sequence in which they occur in Moronaga's scores) broadly follows the *Ichirōraku* pattern of five phrases of equal length, with two cadences on the dominant, two on the mode-final, and one on another note. The excursion from dominant to mode-final in the first part occurs by way of the mediant in measure 4; the sequence of cadence-notes is *a*, *f♯*, *d*, *a*, *d*. A table of data from the weighted scales discloses in sequence the changing modal dynamic of the melody:

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–2	**15**	2	2	8	2	2	4
3–4	7	6	7	2	2	**7**	5
5–6	2	4	5	**11**	7	4	2
7–8	**11**	2	9	5	6	2	–
9–10	7	5	–	**15**	4	4	–
Measures 1–10	42	19	23	**41**	21	19	11

In terms of notes of highest rating, measures 1 and 2 assert the dominant/mode-final hierarchy; measures 3 and 4 employ principally the five notes of a truncated scale, *f♯* to *c*; measures 5 and 6 reconstitute the five-note scale, *b* to *f♯*, with the mode-final as a powerful centre; measures 7 and 8 restore the dominant with support from the sub-final; and measures 9 to 10 raise the mode-final to supremacy, reducing the dominant and other notes to subjection or silence. It is stages such as these in the unfolding of a melody which shape its profile. Assembling them brings the phrases into relationship, one with another, reconciling their differences with the composition as a whole. In the end, the data for *Ikinraku* display the complementary roles of the notes of each tetrachord – *d* to *g* and *a* to *d*. Although *g* is the note least used, neither *c* nor *g* is really auxiliary in this piece. The sub-final acquires importance not to be denied in the three middle phrases, while the fortunes of *b* and *f♯* also vary, as the melody progresses, although their individual weights are very similar in each phrase, and they finish the same (see table) in the final count.

Having isolated some of the details, let them now be restored to the music once more. Common formulaic patterns are demonstrated in the table of analysis.

14 *Shōwaraku/Chenghe yue* 'Continuing Harmony'

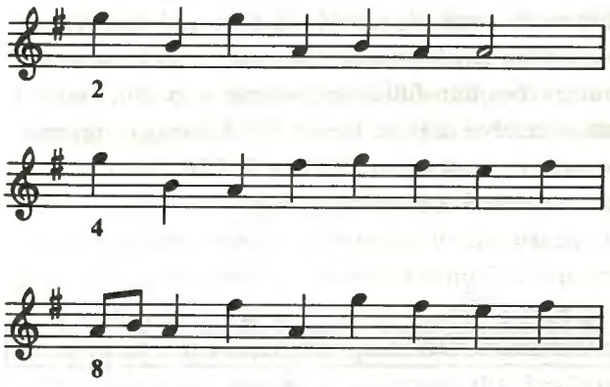
But for one note, *KF/HSFRK* already supplies a working version of this tune. The second beat of measure 9 is not matched in other primary and secondary versions. Two glosses at this point in the secondary string-versions are variants of the second and third beats, where *c* (according to Moronaga's revised modal theory) has prominence; otherwise the five primary and secondary versions prove *c''* (sharp or natural) to be a passing note on the way down from *d''* to *a'*. The reading of *SSSTF* has been adopted in measure 9, with added support from measure 3, where the pattern is first introduced, and where *d'* and *b* are validated as the prime notes of the second and third beats, moving through to the dominant.

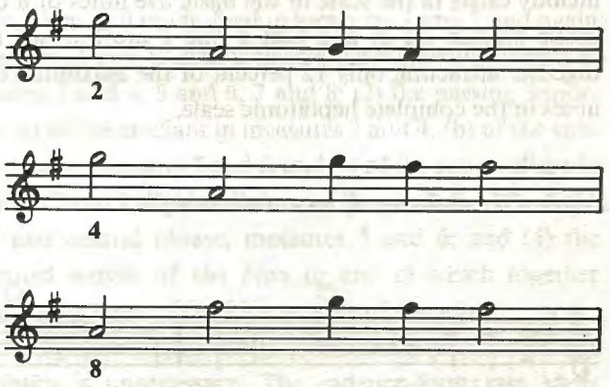
Conflation

Moronaga's *ichi*-signs delimit three phrases of two, four, and four measures respectively, and there is no evidence of any other phrasing in the scores. In the absence of these signs, however, a case could be made for regarding measures 4 and 8 as intermediate-cadence measures – a ten-measure tune of five, equal, two-measure phrases appeals to the musical mind. It will be recalled that, when discussing the attributes of the previous title, the question of mediant-cadences was raised together with the fact that they are relatively rare in this repertory. Of interest here is that measure

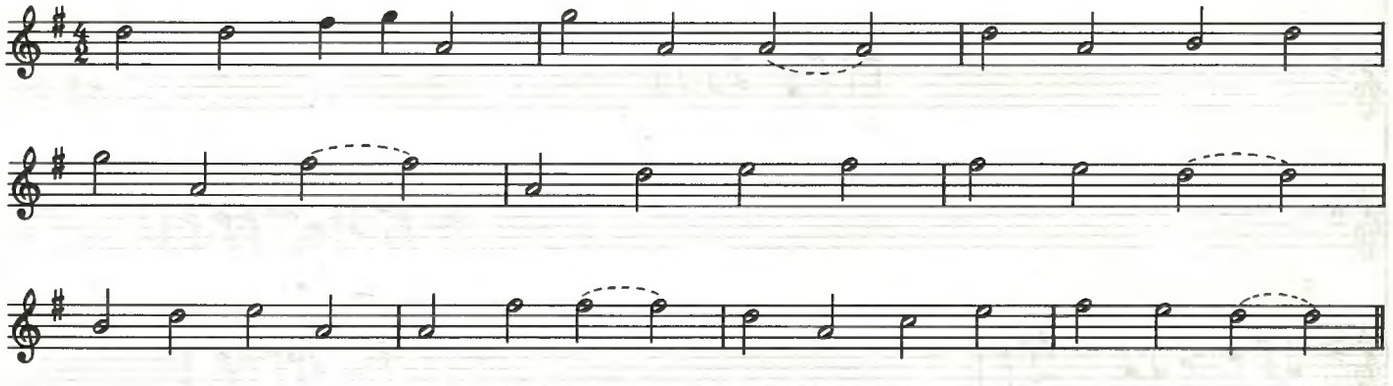
4 of *Shōwaraku* is note-for-note the same, and occurs at the same point in the tune, as measure 4 of another ten-measure tune, *Ikinraku*, with an *ichi*-sign inserted at this point. Measure 4 of *Shōwaraku* might well have been cadential in an original, perhaps texted, version of the piece, since we know that, in the course of time, many of these tunes acquired decorative devices ornamenting certain cadences and other passages with continuous melodic movement. What more natural than that performers in later centuries, unaware of a lost vocal tradition, should allow the music to flow on to an explicit and indisputable point of rest – in this instance the mode-final in measure 6? It is yet more interesting to find the same formula of measure 4 recurring in measure 8, and at the same distance from such a point of rest, namely, just two measures before the concluding cadence on the final of the mode, in measure 10. The second halves of measures 4 and 8, and all of measures 6 and 10, are repetitions; but measure 5 is not repeated in measure 9.

A further glance at the formulae in measures 2, 4 and 8, will clarify the argument for a basic five-note form. If these measures are reduced mainly to half-notes, as for a song-form, on the basis of one lexigraph to a binary beat, the idea of two intermediate cadences on the mediant acquires conviction, and the underlying similarity of the three cadence-measures becomes evident.

Three measures from the conflation



The same three measures reduced

If this suggestion is acceptable, the question may be posed: whether the melody could have been connected with the Tang ritual texts, either (a) in eight lines of four lexigraphs to the line each, or (b) four lines of seven lexigraphs each. In relation to the text cited in *GKMR*, it was suggested in Fascicle 4 (p. 45) that 'the original tune will have consisted of four measures of eight beats, the last monosyllabic word being sustained for two beats at the end of each line of text.' But the music-and-text problem can be approached here as previously in this series by the method touched on in the previous paragraph: by reducing the eight quarter-notes – eight per measure of the complete melody – to four half-note binary beats, with one whole-note, or two half-notes, at the ends of the even-numbered measures, where at present notes repeat and cadence-formulae occur. Such reduction has previously been made in this series on the basis of instrumental practices, known to have been current in Heian times, of adding appoggiaturas and other auxiliary notes to prime melody-notes. This is either done in such a way that the prime note is decorated by sounding the conjunct note, above or below, immediately before; or by sounding the prime note first and then adding a disjunct note in the direction of the next prime note. In the first instance, the prime note is the second half of the binary beat; in the second instance, the prime note is the first half of the binary beat. The conflation of *Shōwaraku* can thus be reduced to a kind of skeletal version of itself as revealed by X-rays.



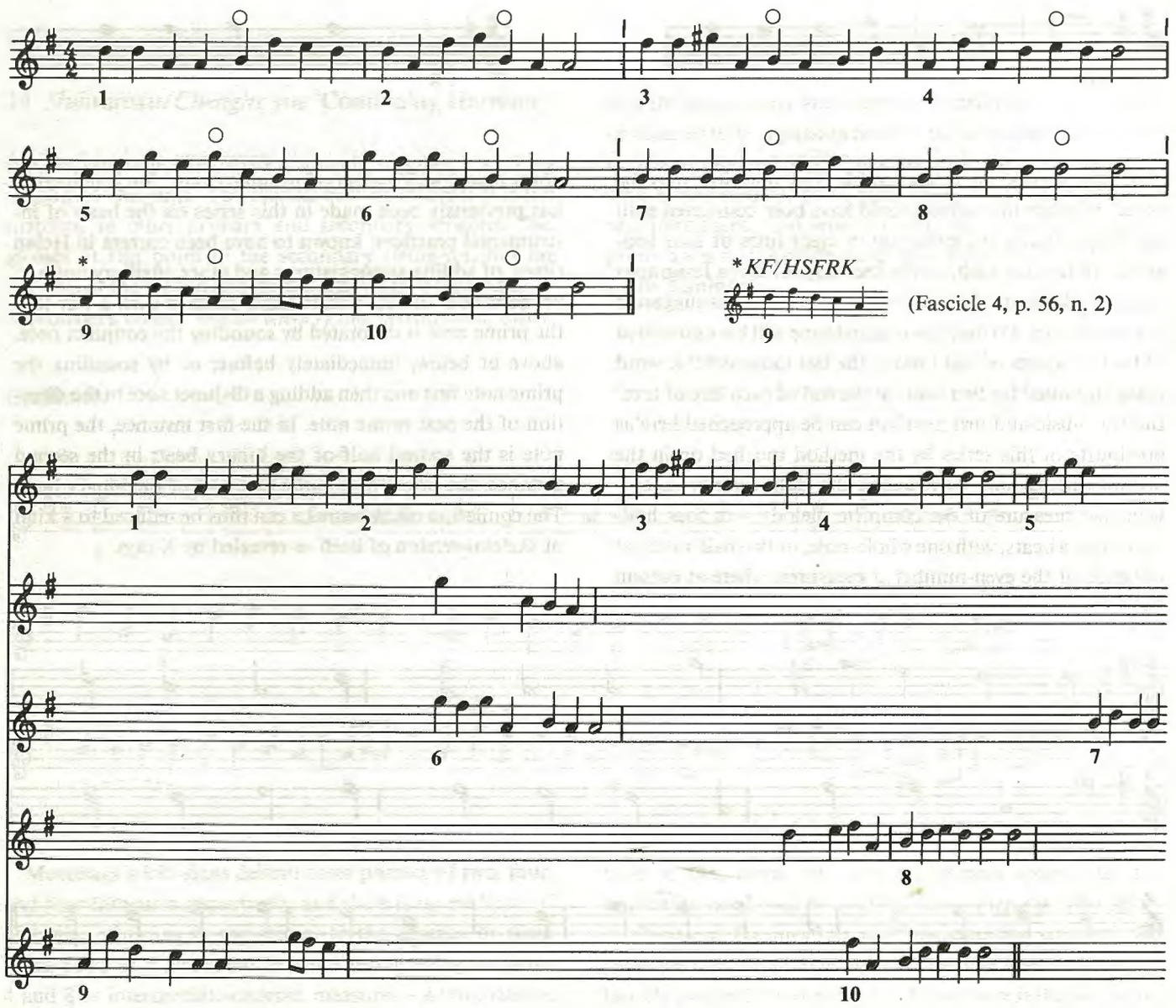
It is now possible to see how textual lines of four or seven lexigraphs could be sung to eight measures of this tune. What of the fact that *Shōwaraku* is a melody in ten measures? It is possible that the tune before us is not the one to which *GKMR*'s text was sung; but if it were, is it not possible that measures 3 and 4 were introduced after vocal performance had been forgotten? The melody flows musically and evenly in the absence of measures 3 and 4, and the order of cadences, and the structure of the tune, remain entirely satisfactory. Having said as much, this is of course pure speculation. What is certain is that in the twelfth century *Shōwaraku* was a ten-measure tune with a dance (*KF/HSFRK*) but without a song-text. Direct evidence of any Chinese connection is lacking.

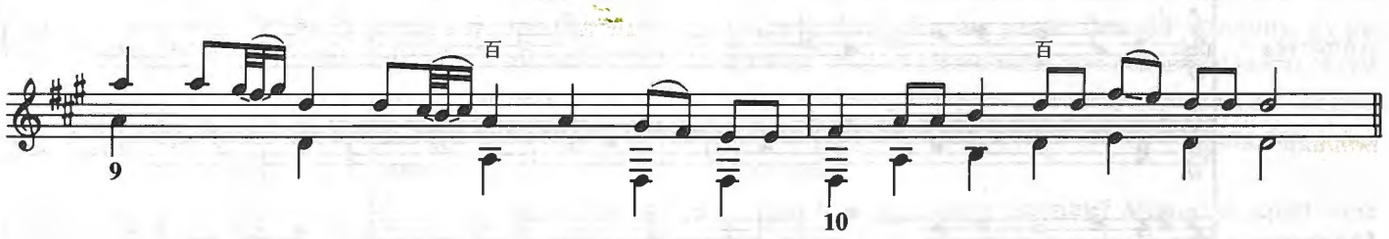
Reverting to Moronaga's three-phrase structure, the reading of data from weighted-scale values establishes that the melody exists in the scale of the basic five notes of a *Gong* mode pitched on *d*; and that *g* and *c* are the two *bian*, together attracting only 12 percent of the maximum of all notes in the complete heptatonic scale.

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–2	**13**	4	–	4	5	2	7
3–6	8.5	8	–	**22.5**	10	19	5
7–10	13	10	5.5	**19.5**	11	11.5	5.5
Measures 1–10	34.5	22	5.5	**46**	26	32.5	17.5

15 *Kasuiraku/Heshui yue* 'River-Waters'

Kasuiraku is the last of the six ten-measure tunes, five of which are grouped together in sequence in Moronaga's listing; all are 'middle-sized pieces' and 'new music'. The raised sub-dominant (see also *Shō-ō-raku*, p. 70) occurs in both mouth-organ versions of measure 3, but not in measure 6, where the same melodic formula occurs. In itself the chromatic change is not of great musical significance. Only one other small area of difference exists between the versions in the *quasi*-fullscore (Fascicle 4, p. 54), and the conflation resolves this in favour of Moronaga's primary and secondary versions and that of *SSSTF*. The first four notes of measure 9 then read *a–g–d–c*.

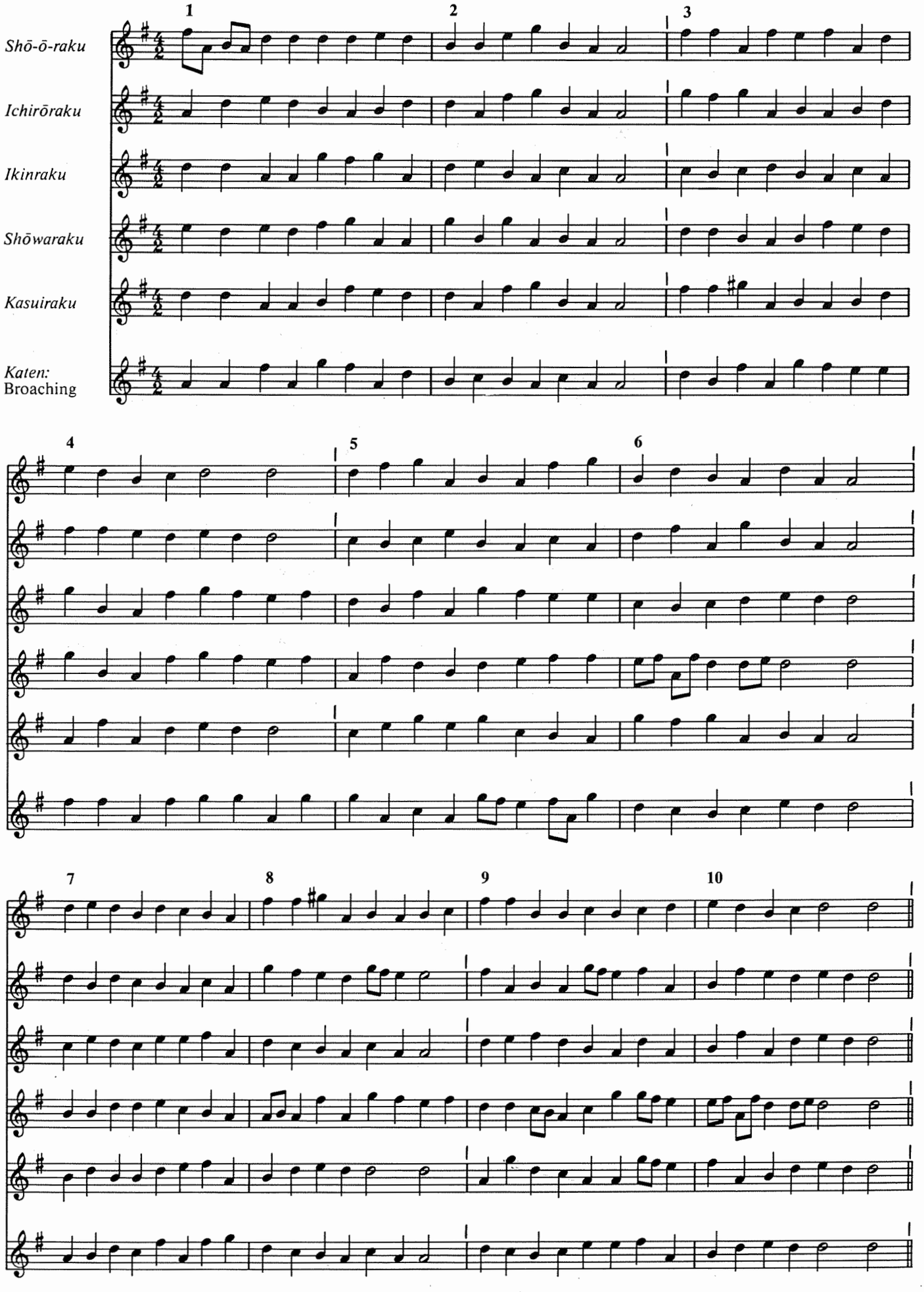
Kasuiraku: conflation & formulaic analysis

This is a strong tune of impressive range and vigour; indeed the last two measures evoke images of rocky cliffs and tumbling waters, such as inspired the brush of many a Chinese artist. The extended scale of the *gaku-sō* (zither) version captures the rugged power of a mountain-scene in the last phrase of 'River-Waters' (Fascicle 4, p. 56).

Kasuiraku: measures 9 and 10 in the *gaku-sō* version (*JCYR*)

The data supplied by the weighted-scale formula show the ingenuity of those who made the piece. Notwithstanding the limited choice of cadence notes: *a*, *d*, *a*, *d*, *d*, the two phrases with dominant-endings (measures 1 and 2 and 5 and 6) are differently shaped to meet their changed functions; and the three phrases with mode-final endings demonstrate the same level of skill in organising unrelated melodic structures into compatible forms, appropriate to the nature of the piece and to the taste of those for whom it was created (measures 3 and 4, 7 and 8, 9 and 10). The cadence-patterns maintain the conventions and necessities of the modal style, while imagination shapes the real music that lies between, absorbing the conventions into a fluent and acceptable composition.

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*♯	*g*(♮ and ♯)
Measures 1–2	**12**	4	—	11	2	4	2
3–4	9	4	—	**11**	2	7	2
5–6	**11**	4	5	—	4	2	9
7–8	3	10	—	**15**	4	2	—
9–10	9	2	2	**10**	5	4.5	3.5
Measures 1–10	44	24	7	47	17	19.5	16.5

The table reveals (1) the overpowering combined weight of dominant and mode-final in measures 1 and 2 and again in measures 9 and 10, and their relative individual weights in measures 3 and 4, 5 and 6, 7 and 8; (2) the passing importance (a) of the mediant in measures 3 and 4, (b) of the sub-dominant in measures 5 and 6, and (c) of the sub-mediant in measures 7 and 8; (3) the absence of the mode-final from the third and central phrase, measures 5 and 6; and (4) the combined weight of the *bian* (*g* and *c*) which together amount to no more than 13.4 percent of the whole.

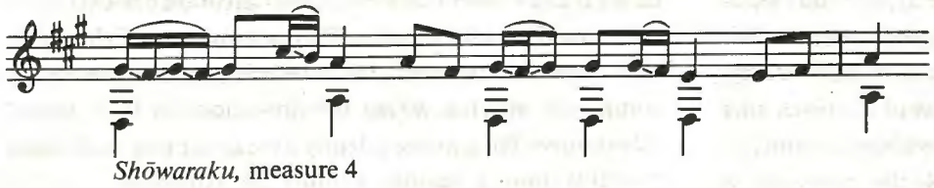
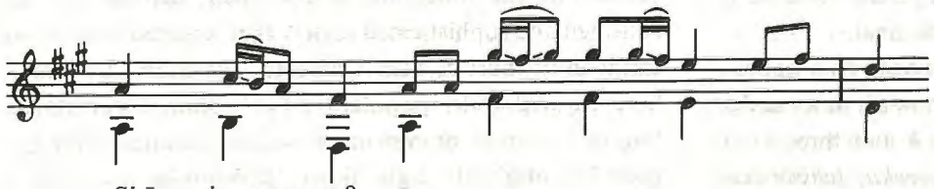
In the light of the preceding, further formulaic analysis of *Kasuiraku* is unnecessary. The cadence-forms are identifiable as similar patterns (in transposition) on dominant and mode-final; while the remaining, odd-numbered measures are independent of each other, with little material in common and without repetition.

Interlude: six movements in ten measures in the first mode –
a summary of findings

This is not the place for a detailed, comparative examination of these tunes, alike in their dimensions and in their description as 'small piece' and 'new music'; but certain musical similarities deserving of comment have already emerged. For the cadence-notes of marked (or implied) phrases of two-measure length, the dominant is the unanimous choice for the opening phrase, and the majority-choice for the third phrase; the mode-final, inevitable for the closing phrase, is also the majority-choice for the second phrase. The two tunes that do not cadence on the mode-final in the second phrase accept the mediant in that position, and cadence on the mode-final in completing the following phrase. The three tunes that cadence on the dominant at the end of the third phrase are those with mode-final cadences in the second phrase. For the fourth phrase, choice appears to have been open, and in no two melodies does the fourth phrase end on the same note.

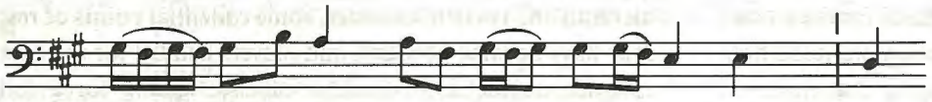
These remarks assume that five, two-measure phrases was the ground structure of ten-measure tunes, even though Moronaga's scores do not entirely support this view; but then, Moronaga flourished more than three centuries after the last item of *Tōgaku* reached Japan. On his evidence, the pattern of regular, two-measure phrases is broken in three of the group of five tunes: *Shō-ō-raku* with four phrases – 2+2+2+4 measures; *Ikinraku* with four phrases – 2+4+2+2 measures; and *Shōwaraku* with three phrases – 2+4+4 measures. The *ichi*-signs in *JCYR* and *SGYR* (present only in the string-versions) mark the ends of two- and four-measure phrases; in the case of the latter, the music runs on continuously through the four measures, and finishes on a half-note on the mode-final, after thirty-two beats instead of sixteen. It is reasonable to suggest that, taught by rote, performing from memory, and liberated from dance-associations and song-texts, instrumentalists of the later Heian and early Kamakura periods, relying on their own discretion (after a period of centuries, in fact), may have allowed tunes to flow on through certain subsidiary cadences, when they felt so inclined, thus achieving greater melodic continuity. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, some cadential points of rest may have become obsolete, and players headed for the next cadence on the mode-final, a cadence lasting for a full binary beat.

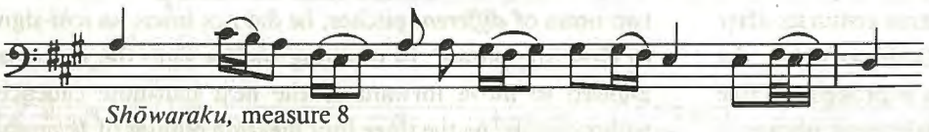
Is such an hypothesis plausible? Moronaga, apart from being a leading statesman and a nobleman of high rank was both a performer and a scholar of repute. The entire repertory of *Tōgaku*-melodies must have been well known to him and their notating with two- or four-measure metrical indications occurred under his direction. In the treatment of four-measure phrases, he is consistent in that, where the last binary unit of the even-numbered measures contains two notes of *different* pitches, he did not insert an *ichi*-sign to close the phrase. In omitting such a sign, the music is allowed to move forward to the next half-note cadence without delay. As the three four-measure phrases of *Ikinraku* and *Shōwaraku* employ the same (or similar) formulae in their second measures, a comparison of the relevant passages from *JCYR* may serve to demonstrate his practice. None of these excerpts exhibits an *ichi*-sign at the end of the second measure.

Three specimen-measures from *JCYR*

Ikinraku, measure 4

Shōwaraku, measure 4

Shōwaraku, measure 8

The same measures from *SGYR* also merit attention. Unlike the zither-version of *Ikinraku*, the same measure of the lute-version (measure 4) shows two final notes sounding at the same pitch. Here an *ichi*-sign is marked, and the cadence recognised. The two excerpts from *Shōwaraku*, with the melody in motion at the ends of measures 4 and 8, are treated like those in the zither-versions, without *ichi*-signs being marked.

Three specimen-measures from *SGYR*

Ikinraku, measure 4

Shōwaraku, measure 4

Shōwaraku, measure 8

The examples confirm that, so far as this group of five tunes is concerned, no cadence is reached in even-numbered measures where different pitches are sounded on the last two beats of the measure. The scribes responsible for the mouth-organ scores did not make use of specific phrase-markers; but string- and wind-traditions agree on the basic notes shown in the transcriptions, and therefore the five conflations adopted (p. 80) follow Moronaga's lead in this matter, not requiring cadential definition to be observed in the course of fluent passages in four measures. In the four-measure phrase of *Shō-ō-raku*, measures 7 to 10, the formulae differ from those just considered, but the practice is the same: no cadence is marked by an *ichi*-sign in measure 8.

One further example, but from outside the present group of five consecutive items, may be included in this discussion, namely, the Broaching of *Katen* (Fascicle 3, p. 23; this fascicle, p. 38 and p. 80). This too is a ten-measure tune with four phrases: 2+4+2+2 measures. In the primary string-versions, and in the conflation, the melody of the Broaching flows smoothly through measures 3 to 6 without seeking, or implying, a cadence-point in measure 4; the movement is continuous through to measure 6, where the cadence is marked by a full binary beat on the mode-final.

Do these melodies divide into two portions? They do; but the portions are unequal in size. Of the now *six* tunes under discussion, three divide after measure 4 and three after measure 6. The first portions of *Shō-ō-raku*, *Ichirōraku*, and *Kasuiraku*, consist of two phrases of two measures each, with a first cadence on the dominant and a second on the mode-final. In the second portions of these melodies, *Shō-ō-raku* exhibits two phrases of two and four measures respectively, again with cadences on dominant and mode-final. The latter portion of *Ichirōraku* shows three phrases of two measures each, with cadences on dominant, super-final, and mode-final, while *Kasuiraku* shows three two-measure phrases, with a cadence on the dominant followed by two on the mode-final. In the second group of three pieces, the second portion is shorter than the first. *Ikinraku*, and the Broaching of *Katen*, exhibit two phrases of two measures each, cadencing on the dominant and the mode-final. *Shōwaraku* shows one phrase of four measures in its second portion, a phrase completed (on the mode-final) with the same cadence-measure as measure 6.

Investigation of the basic forms of these tunes discloses a generally conservative stance on the part of musicians handling these short lyrical forms. In compositions on a larger scale, greater freedom and initiative are evident, as we have seen (Fascicles 2 and 3). Previous analyses of the repertory have demonstrated the musicality and ingenuity of composers working within the limitations of their modal inheritance. They were evidently able to expand traditional modality into a flexible medium of expression, capable of meeting the functional and aesthetic demands of an educated and sophisticated society that required large-scale forms in its musical entertainments. The short forms may have enjoyed wider popularity; but a short form played four or five times, or even more – as, for instance: *Gyokuju goten-ka*, originally eight times; *Shō-ō-raku*, five times; *Ichirōraku*, four times – does not create a larger form by mere repetition. Neither organisation nor content of a limited and closed form is increased by repetition.

Returning to the collocation of melodies before us, other

areas of interest await attention, but their examination cannot be undertaken here. Formulaic analysis is one such area. It bears on the composition of music in general in East Asia, and on the relationship between style and idea within a genre of music popular there over a long time-span. Both in China and Japan, the formulaic method of construction manifested in *Tōgaku* evidently proved acceptable and adaptable, flexible and fertile. Moreover it proved to be both creative and economical: creative, because it was an efficient medium for musicians capable of making their own music, and economical, because repetition and variation, within a long-established and fashionable style, was a limitless process, dependent only on the ingenuity of its exponents and the acquiesence of a society. Supporting evidence for this view is immediately displayed on the surface of the music. Variants of formulae in cadence-measures are not hard to detect, for example, and repetitious phrases can be discerned on closer scrutiny: for example, measure 4 of *Ikinraku* and measure 4 of *Shōwaraku*; measure 3 of *Kasuiraku* and measure 8 of *Shō-ō-raku*; and one could go much further in the pursuit of variance and repetition, so derivative is the style. In the Middle Ages, East and West, originality was not a criterion by which to judge a mature and refined creative musicality. Beneath the surface, however, lay an elusive element that imposed order on a seemingly haphazard process of creation.

Part of the success, achieved by the unnamed composers of Tang China whose music is collectively the subject of this study, can be attributed to a feeling for balanced structural design, and to an expression of relationships within it; this applies to the radical elements of construction, akin to those of the architects and draughtsmen who planned the urban landscape of the imperial capital, Changan, with its vast streets and immense squares. An equally important part of their success was evidently due to the quality of the music itself as we have it. There is no evidence for the existence of any theory of musical composition, other than for songs, in China before the fifth century (Fascicle 5, p. 111); but it may be posited: that these composer-performers were secure in their family-lines as performers and creators; that, working in familiar styles, they were sustained by a highly developed innate musicality and knowledge of the craft of creative artists who preceded them; and that they knew how to obtain satisfying results from limited resources and limiting materials, as shown by the persistent popularity of many items over a time-span of centuries – even granting the occurrence of revision. The extant compositions of the imperial musicians of Tang prove them to have possessed inventiveness and imagination to a degree that made their music significant in terms of the first millenium and valuable in terms of the twentieth century's rediscovery.

16 *Bosatsu/Pusa* 'Bodhisattvas'

The origins and traditions of this 'old', 'middle-sized' composition in two movements have close connections with Buddhism and its practices. With the omission of a terminal lexigraph, the title has its place in Chinese lists of Tang music-with-dance. The music is preserved in the primary sources on which this study is founded. The account of its performance at the reconsecration of the great *Tōdaiji* Buddha in Nara in 861 leaves little room for doubt that this is indeed the music for the *Pusa man* – one of many processional dances of its time – even though the third lexigraph is missing from the title as recorded in Japanese documents.

The sources are not unanimous as to the order in which the movements were to be performed. The consensus of the several and varied accounts is that Way-Walking preceded Prelude but was played again, following the Prelude, as a Broaching, and yet again when the dancers retired from the dance-terrace. The flute-cue that foreshadows the opening notes of the Prelude was played after the Way-Walking, thus identifying the forthcoming change of mode from *Ichikotsu-chō* (Mixolydian on *d*) to *Ōshiki-chō* (Dorian on *a*). For the zither-players, this required a complete change in tuning from *d d a b d' e' f♯' a' b' d'' e'' f♯'' a''* (*Ichikotsu-chō* tuning) to *e a c' d' e' g' a' b' d'' e'' g'' a'' b''* (*Hyōjō* tuning). Lute-players lowered the pitch of their *d*-string to *c*, changing from the old *Sōjō* tuning (for playing in *Ichikotsu-chō*): *A d e a*, to the old *Fukō-chō A c e a* (for playing in *Ōshiki-chō*). *RSCY*'s statement that the frets of the *gaku-sō* should be arranged as for *Hyōjō*, though the Prelude is 'done' in *Ōshiki-chō*, is a statement distinguishing *tuning* (in the sense of the placing of moveable frets and the sequence of pitches of the open strings) from *mode*. The tablatures for Prelude in *JCYR* and *RSCY* are virtually identical. No preface in the sources says anything about restoring tuning of the lutes to *Ichikotsu-chō* when returning to the Way-Walking, played as Broaching. *Bosatsu* is the only item in this mode-key group that includes movements in different modes. This present discussion ignores the Champa Free-Tune as not forming part of the original *Bosatsu*-suite.

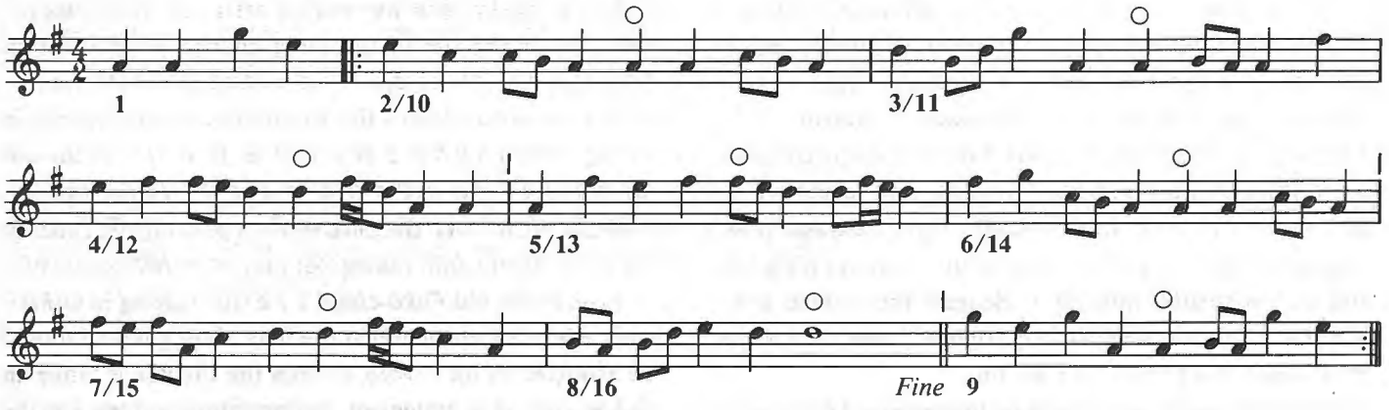
The conflation derived from the instrumental versions of *Bosatsu* requires some explanation. There are in all five primary versions of the Way-Walking, and four primary and two secondary versions of the Large Prelude; differences between the versions of the two pieces transcend what might be regarded as mere variants of common formulae.

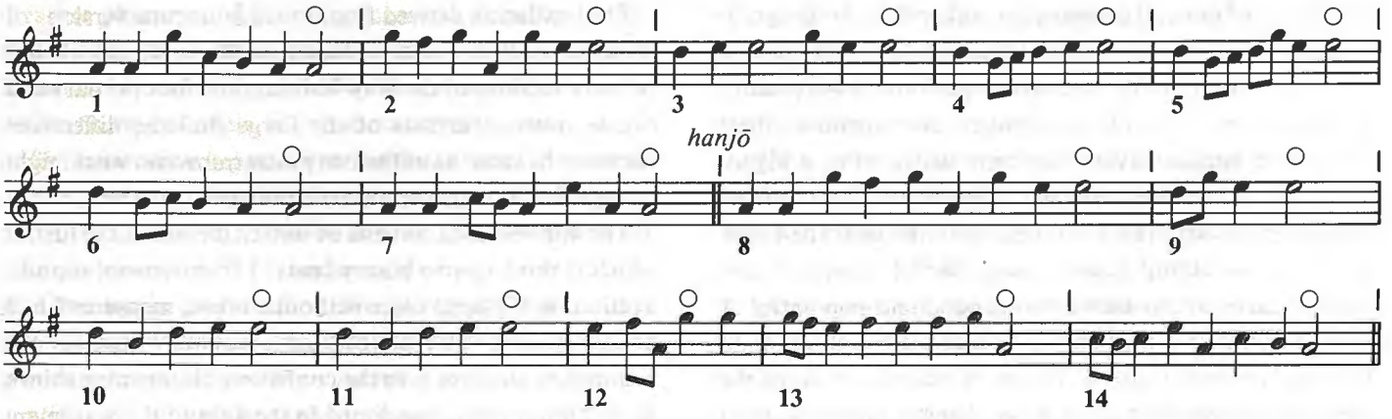
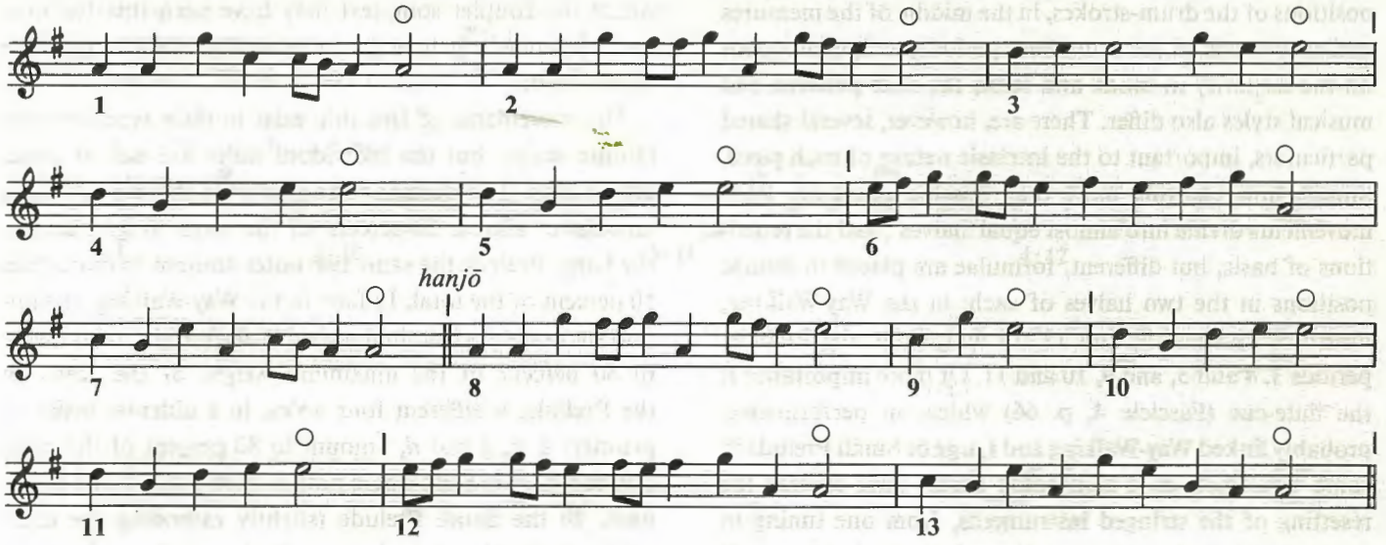
The Way-Walking consists of sixteen measures, the first of which is short by two binary beats. The movement sounds, in effect, as if played twice without a break, measures 2 to 8 being repeated after a filled-out measure 9 replaces the incomplete measure 1. In the conflation, the opening shown in *JCYR* has been abandoned in the light of the agreement of the other versions, and the minor deviations in measure 6 have been set aside in favour of the version of *KF/HSFRK*, *primus inter pares*. Measure 9 turns the piece back on itself, the second half of the measure identifying with the incomplete measure 1; in repeating, measure 2 becomes numerically measure 10, the sequence of measure-numbers continuing in this way to end in measure 16. The additional flute-version submitted by A.J.M. shows the advanced treatment that gained acceptance among flute-players by the late thirteenth

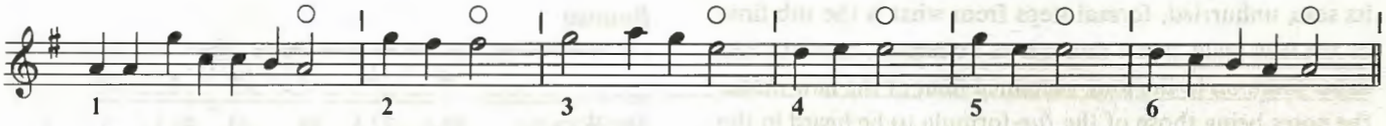
and early fourteenth centuries. The notes of earlier versions are here embedded in a dense texture that considerably changes time and rhythm of the flute-melody as it existed, presumably, in earlier versions. The bass-drum signs, omitted here and there in the scores, would have sounded on the fifth beat of each measure. Moronaga's *ichi*-signs confirm the regular phrasing in units each of two measures.

In the main, the conflation from the primary versions of the Large Prelude follows *KF/HSFRK*. The Toyohara mouth-organ tradition supports, essentially, Moronaga's primary versions and is more concise than these in certain drum-beat periods (for example, periods 1, 5, 6 and 8, in the conflation-numbering). Several minor compromises have been adopted where string- and wind-traditions both contribute to a satisfactory solution (for example, periods 8, 12, 13 and 14). The number of drum-beats in the primary versions varies: *KCF*, 17; *KF/HSFRK*, 14; *JCYR* and *SGYR*, 16; and the drum-stroke signs (百 and ○) are not all inserted at the same points. The conflation consists of fourteen drum-beat periods, accepting the period-cadences and drum-strokes where the four instrumental versions agree.

Conflations

(a) Way-Walking

(b) Flute-cue

(c) Large Prelude (primary version)

(d) Large Prelude (secondary version)

(e) Small Prelude



Comparison of the two secondary versions of the Large Prelude from *SSSTF* and *SGYR* exposes the existence of other recognised schools of players within the main wind- and string-traditions. The primary versions in Moronaga's scores may at times be those of the Imperial Clan, the Minamoto, the secondary versions being at times those of his own Fujiwara line (Markham, 1983, 1, p. 10). From the materials provided, the primary versions are two wind- and two string-sources that approximate fairly closely to the same basic melodic line. The secondary versions for mouth-organ and lute also agree quite closely with each other; but they differ from the primary versions. In this instance, the difference may have been due to human frailty, the unreliability of memory over years of infrequent performance. Players were taught by rote and in earlier times always played from memory. Comparison of the secondary versions with the conflation illustrates the kind of dilemma that arose and its consequence. Drum-beat periods 4 and 5, 9, 10 and 11, are all essentially the same in both versions. The one short, drum-beat period is heard five times, in several forms, throughout a piece of no more than fourteen periods. After periods 4 and 5, as likewise after periods 9, 10 and 11, the music of the primary version continues purposefully towards a different objective: in the first half, to a firm cadence on the final of the mode, halfway through the melody (*hanjō*); and in the second half to a climax, followed by a fall away to the same final cadence. What happens in the secondary versions is that the latter consequent follows both appearances of the repeating formula. Not only do drum-beat periods 4 and 5 repeat in periods 9 to 11, but periods 6 and 7 of the secondary version (periods 12 to 14 of the primary version reduced) also repeat in periods 12 to 13 of that version. In fact, drum-beat periods 2 to 7 of the secondary version are repeated with but slight variation in periods 9 to 13.

The following table numbers-off the drum-beat periods of both conflations of the Prelude and shows where agreement and difference lies. As drum-beat 6 of the secondary version combines the material of periods 12 and 13 of the primary version, the secondary version amounts to thirteen periods only. All the formulae are common to both melodies, either literally or in variant form.

Drum-beat periods of secondary version:

hanjō

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 8 9 10 11 12 13 ‖

Drum-beat periods of primary version in relation to those of the secondary version:

hanjō

1 2 3 4 5 $\overset{\frown}{12,13}$ 14 | 8 9 10 11 $\overset{\frown}{12,13}$ 14 ‖

In the sources transcribed and submitted by A.J.M. (Fascicle 4, p. 82) there is a Small Prelude of six short drum-beat periods. A comparison in notation of Large and Small Preludes is provided later.

Way-Walking and Large Prelude appear to have little in common. The principal differences are: the number of mea-

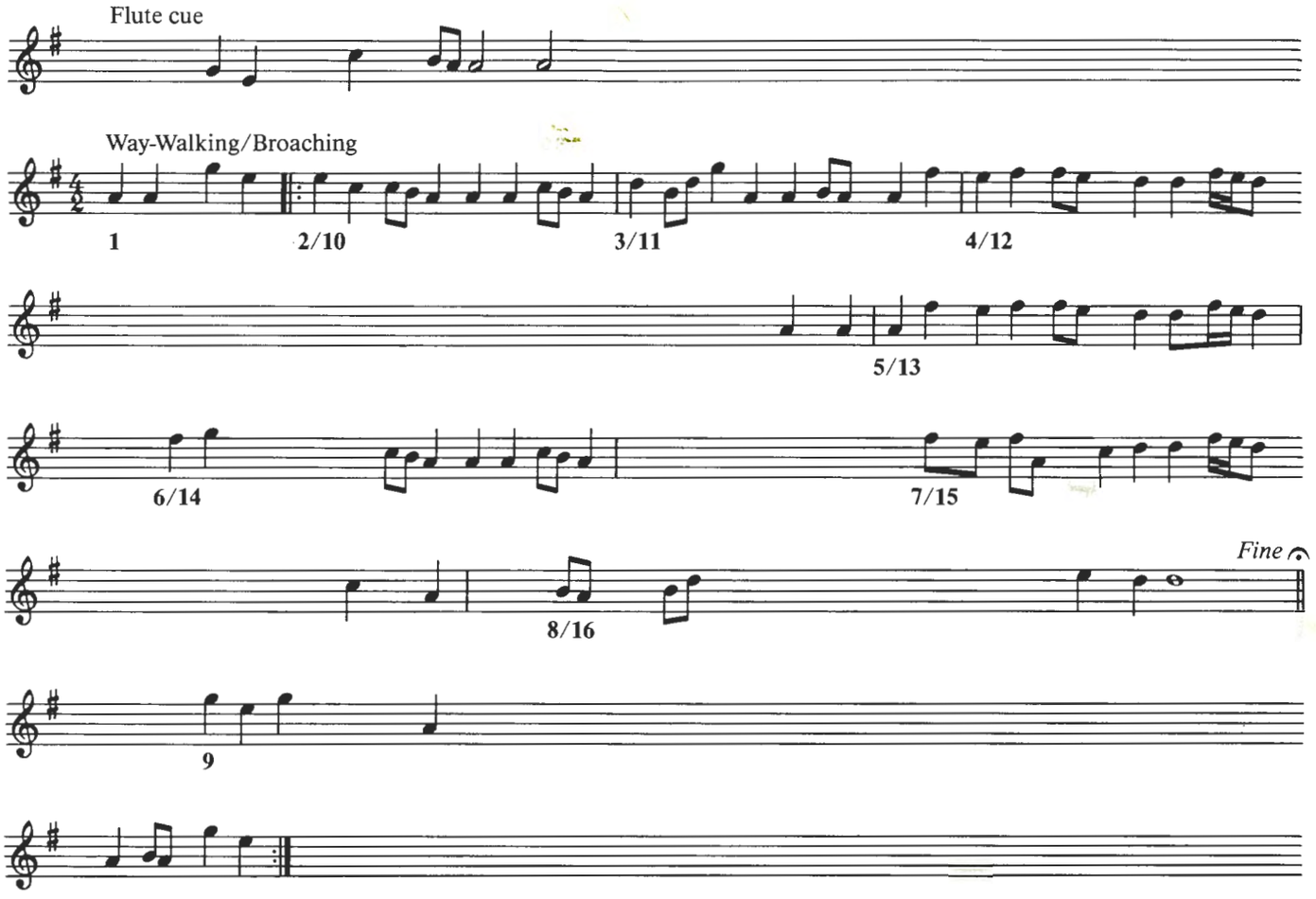
sures or drum-beat periods of each, 15½ and 14; the modes, *Ichikotsu-chō* and *Ōshiki-chō*; the scales, Mixolydian on *d* and Dorian on *a*; the time, measured and unmeasured; the positions of the drum-strokes, in the middle of the measures and at the ends of the drum-beat periods; and, consequent on the disparity in mode and scale, the note-patterns and musical styles also differ. There are, however, several shared particulars, important to the intrinsic nature of each piece, though not requiring more than passing attention. Both movements divide into almost equal 'halves', and the repetitions of basic, but different, formulae are placed in similar positions in the two halves of each: in the Way-Walking, measures 4, 5 and 7, and 12, 13 and 15; in the Prelude, periods 3, 4 and 5, and 9, 10 and 11. Of more importance is the flute-cue (Fascicle 4, p. 66) which, in performance, probably linked Way-Walking and Large or Small Prelude in some way. Short as it is, it could hardly have covered the resetting of the stringed instruments, from one tuning to another, unless played repeatedly and slowly; but its provision is musically and technically intelligent, because of its economy and aptness for the purpose. Not only does the flute-cue call attention to the approaching modal shift by its solo, unhurried, formal steps from what is the sub-final of the new scale, down through its dominant, mediant and super-final, on to the long-sustained final of the new mode, the notes being those of the *fue*-formula to be heard in the standard *Ōshiki-chō netori*; but it is equally a reference to the opening notes of both the previous movement and the succeeding one.

It will be remembered from Fascicle 4, p. 62, that *KKS* preserves a song-text belonging to the suite. When it was sung, this occurred between Way-Walking and Prelude (Fascicle 4, p. 62); that it was not sung invariably would seem to be indicated by the absence of any mention of the song-text in the prefaces to the sources. There is no reason to doubt the possibility of such a vocal interpolation: the ostensibly religious nature of the entire composition and the symbolic interpretations of the dancers (Fascicle 4, p. 61), could reasonably have been extended by the inclusion of a sung text between the two movements. Dignified sentiments expressed in solemn chant would have been an imaginative and fitting addition, in keeping with the context of the suite and with Chinese traditions of ritual and worship. Precisely where the couplet song-text may have been inserted may have depended on how flute-cue and modal change were interrelated.

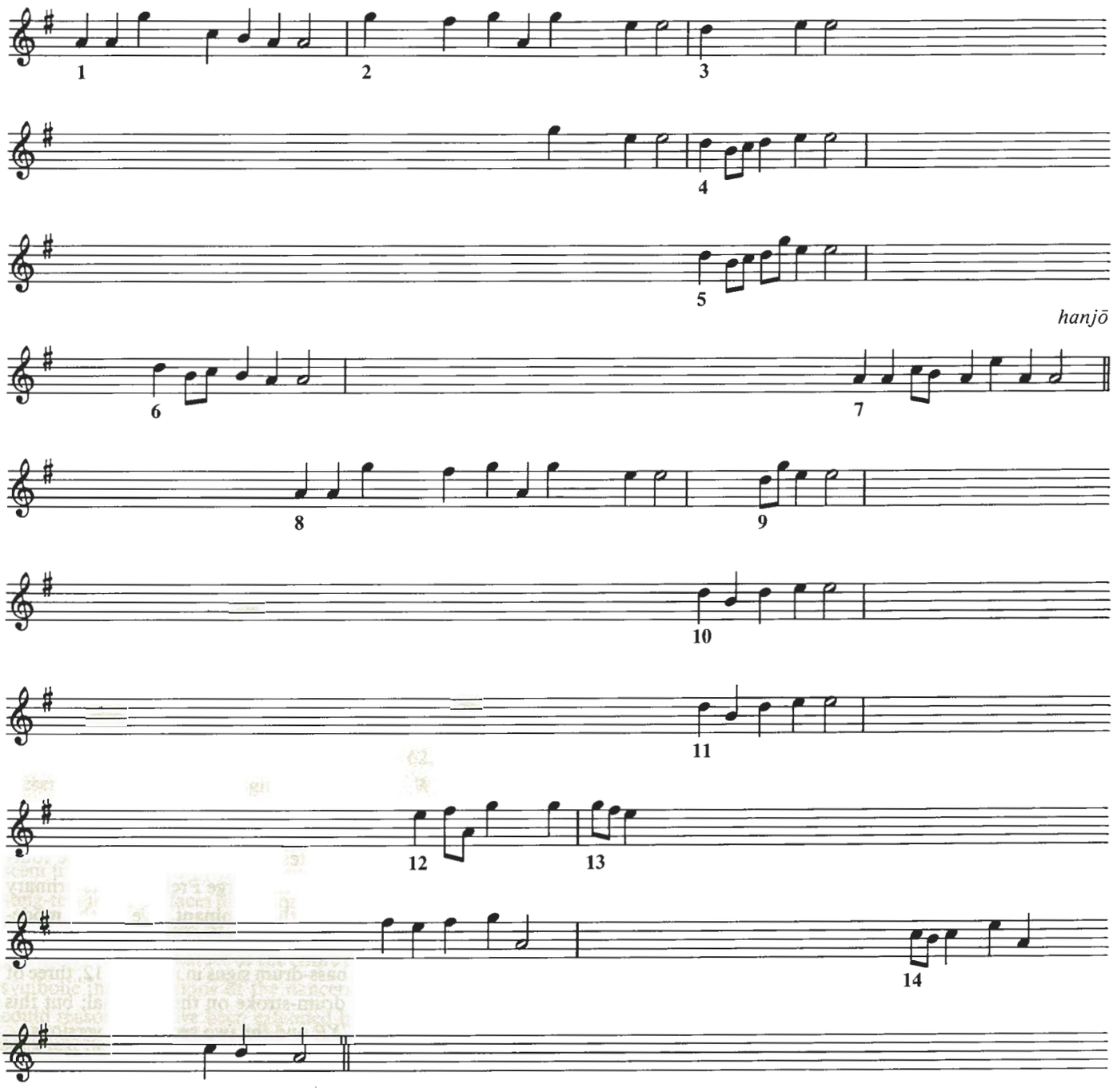
The movements of this title exist in their separate heptatonic scales, but the individual notes are not of equal importance. The dominant and final of the Way-Walking amount to almost 50 percent of the tonal weight; and in the Large Prelude the same two notes amount to more than 50 percent of the total. In fact, in the Way-Walking, the important notes are four in number: *a*, *d*, *f♯* and *e*, amounting to 80 percent of the maximum weight of the scale. In the Prelude, a different four notes, in a different order of priority: *e*, *a*, *g* and *d*, amount to 80 percent of the maximum. The strongest single note in each piece is the dominant. In the Small Prelude (slightly extending the comparison), dominant and mode-final are of nearly equal weight. From durations, occurrences, and initials and finals of measures and periods, the numerical data become:

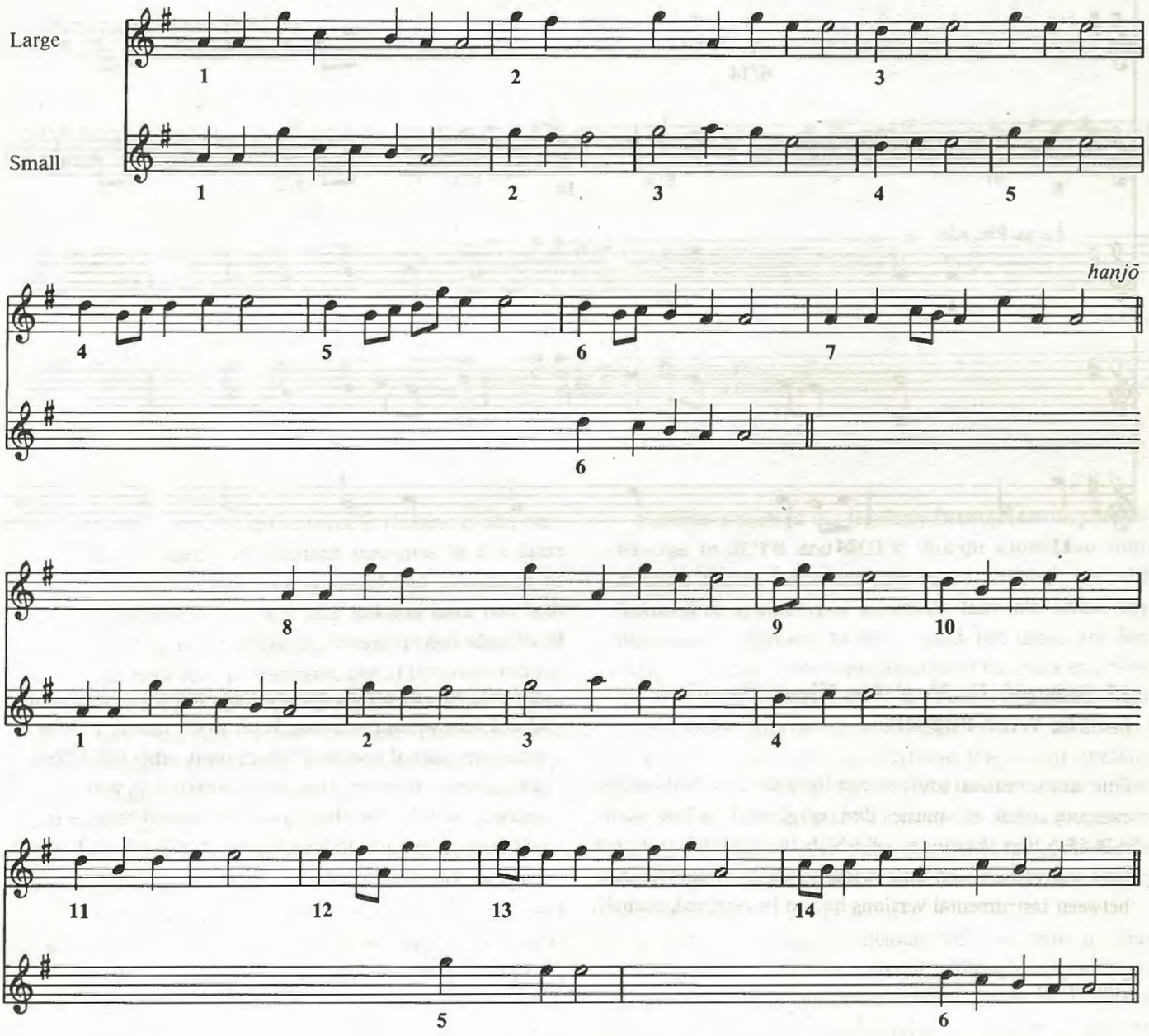
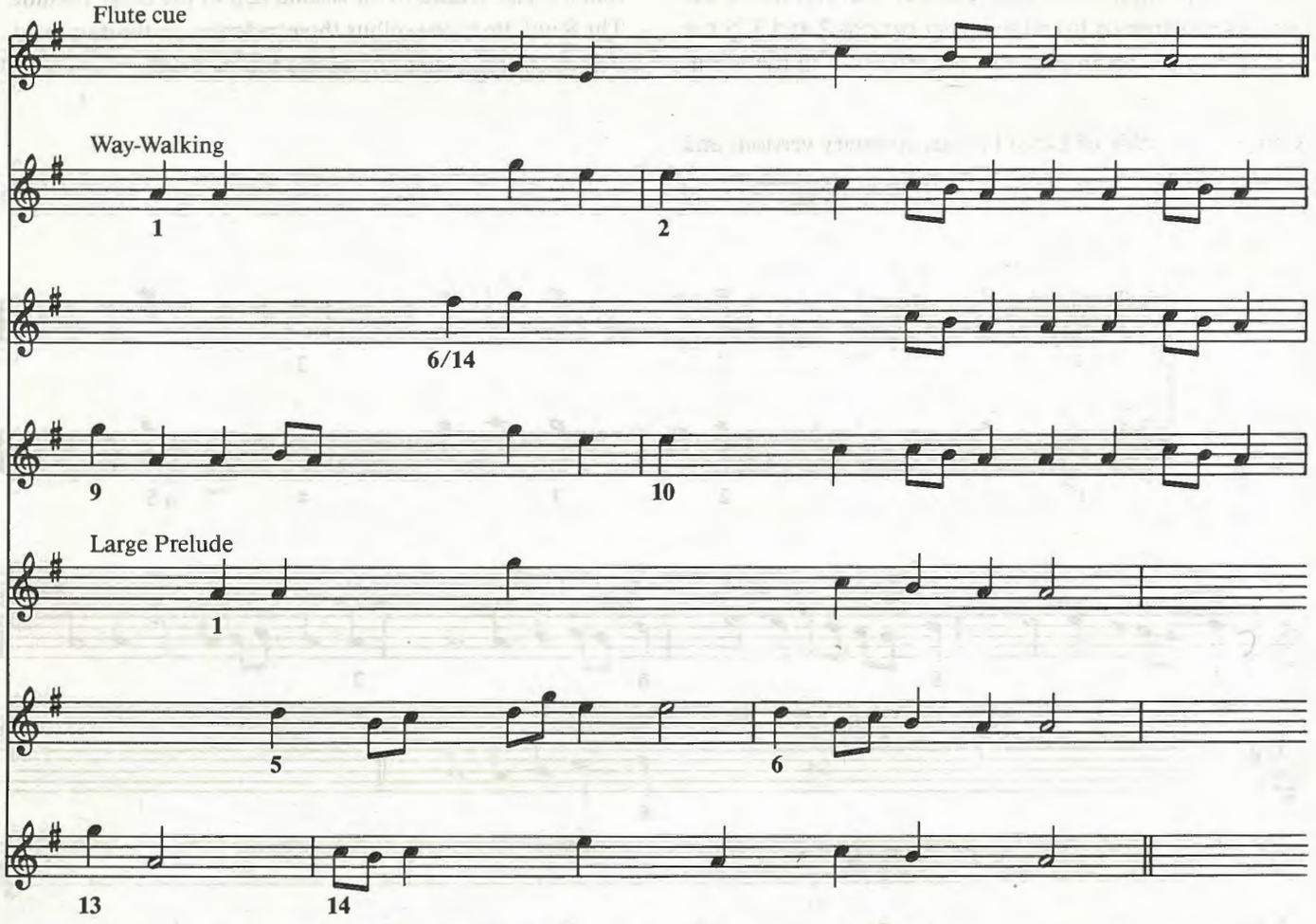
Bosatsu

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Way-Walking	89.5	27.5	24	63	44.5	45.5	17
Large Prelude	50.5	17.5	14.5	28	64	11	29.5
Small Prelude	17	4	6	6	16	6	14

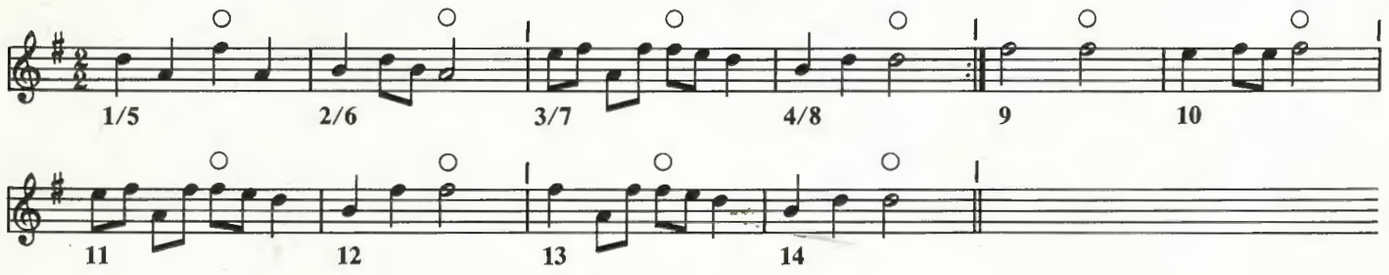
Taking the movements individually, the Way-Walking exhibits a compact texture in which formulae from measures 1 and 2, and 3 and 4, assume varied forms as the melody progresses. The relevance of the flute-cue to the Way-Walking is heard across measures 1 and 2 and 9 and 10, and is also present in measures 6 and 14. The phrasing (from *SGYR*) indicates cadences every two measures. There are two cadence-notes only, with six cadences on the dominant and two on the final. Measures 4 and 12 may have included mode-final cadences in earlier times.

In the versions of the Large Prelude (pp. 84, 85), the formula from period 4 stands in the centre of the portions separated by the *hanjō*-marking, in periods 4 and 5, and 10 and 11. The flute-cue anticipates the first drum-beat period, is reflected in periods 5 and 6 and 6 and 7 of the primary and secondary versions respectively, and foreshadows the close of the two movements.

Again, the cadence-notes are conservative. Of the fourteen drum-beat periods of the Large Prelude in its primary version, eight cadence on the dominant, five on the mode-final, and one on the sub-final. Looking back at the sub-final period, and the bass-drum signs in measure 12, three of the scores show the drum-stroke on the sub-final; but this does not occur in *JCYR* and the two secondary versions.

Formulaic analysis of the Large Prelude (primary version)

Comparison of Large and Small Preludes reveals the Small Prelude as the first half of the Large Prelude, but without repetitions of periods 4 and 5, and with four short periods constructed from the longer periods 2 and 3. Since period 6 of the Small Prelude does not occur in the secondary versions, the Small Prelude may have been made from the primary version. The analytical table shows, however, that it is also related to the second half of the Large Prelude. The Small Prelude exhibits three cadences on the dominant, two on the final, and one on the sub-mediant.

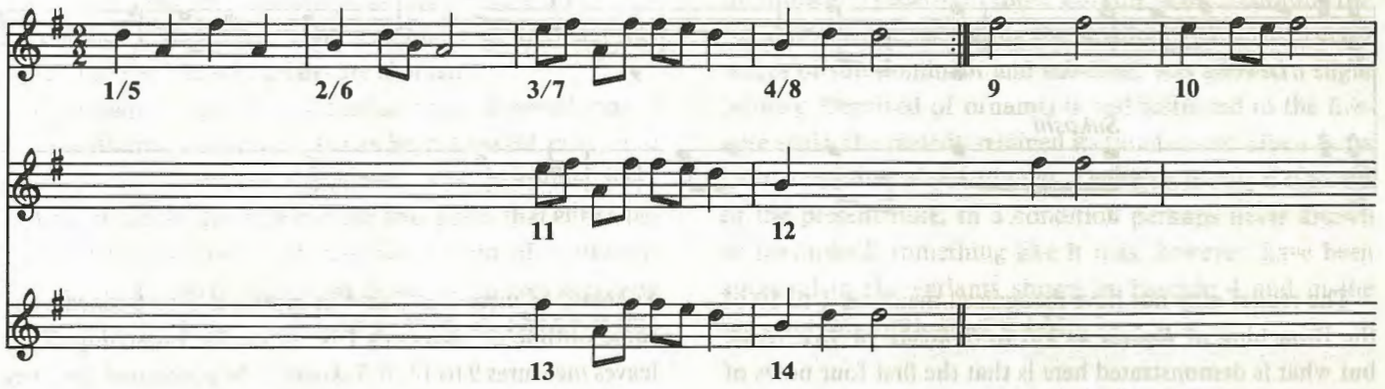
Comparative table of Large Prelude (primary version) and Small Prelude

Flute-cue and its recurrences in Way-Walking and Prelude

17 *Sukoshi/Jiu Huzi* 'The Vinous Sogdian' (= The Wine-Puppet)

Four of the musical sources refer the piece to the 'old music' category (that is, music that originated before about AD 650), but the source of which the age and authority have many times been acknowledged when textual variances between instrumental versions had to be resolved, namely, *KF/HSFRK*, disagrees. Noting that *Sukoshi* is labelled as a Quick, but without a dance, leads to the question: Was the piece ever part of a suite of this or some other title? There is no evidence, however, that other movements were ever associated with it. The class to which *Sukoshi* belongs is that of 'small piece', as is that of *Koinju* (p. 57), where, however, there are two movements but no Quick.

Conflation

The conflation raises no difficulties. The version adopted here from *KF/HSFRK* represents the melody of all the written versions of the quasi-fullscore. The scale is the Chinese *Gong* pentatonic scale on *d*. In the second portion of the tune (measures 9 to 14), the mediant heavily outweighs all other notes, amounting to 50 percent of the total weight. The same note overshadows dominant and final, as shown in the summary of comparative data drawn from the complete melody.

	a	*b*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*
Measures 1–8	21	15	**27**	8	13
9–14	3	6	**12**	10	30
Measures 1–14	24	21	**39**	18	43

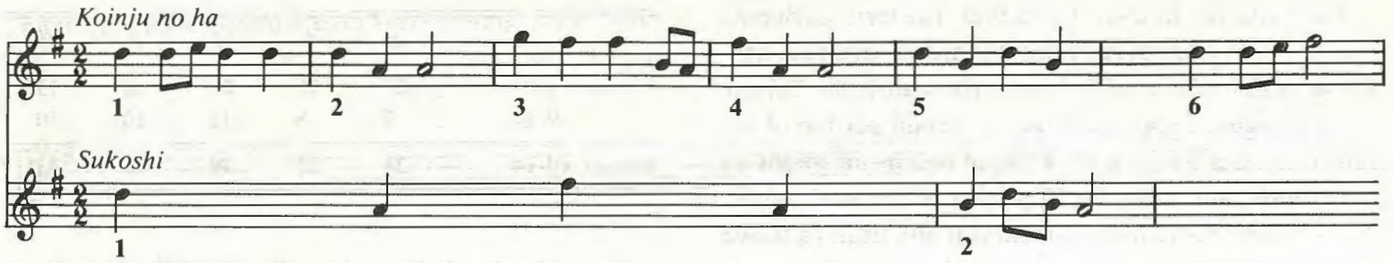
The table of melodic analysis illustrates the dependence of the melody on the second phrase, measures 3 and 4.

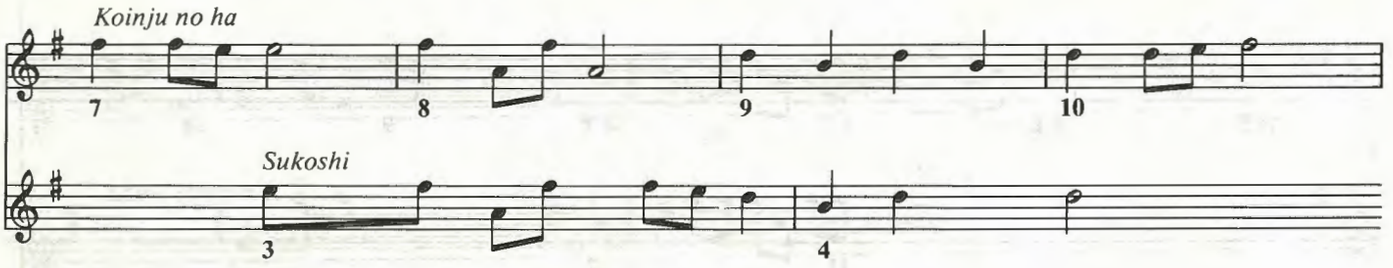
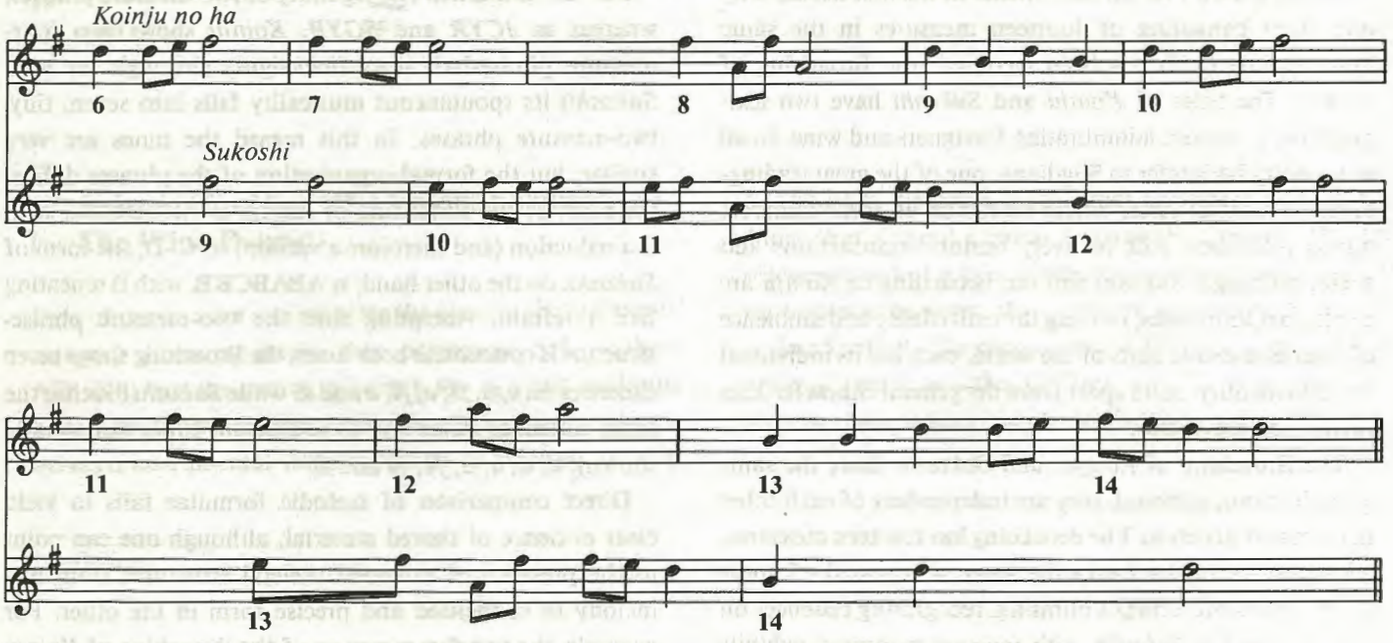
Melodic analysis

Looking back over all movements in the first mode, only one other consisting of fourteen measures in the same musical time (2/2) has been recorded: the Broaching of *Koinju*. The titles of *Koinju* and *Sukoshi* have two lexigraphs in common, adumbrating foreigners and wine. In all probability both refer to Sogdiana, one of the great trading-areas of Central Asia, where foreigners in large numbers mixed with local folk in lively business-transactions and social exchange. *Sukoshi* and the Broaching of *Koinju* are catchy, outdoor-tunes, evoking the conviviality and ambience of taverns in exotic parts of the world; each has its individual musical identity, quite apart from the general characteristics mentioned previously.

The Broaching of *Koinju*, and *Sukoshi*, share the same good humour, although they are independent of each other in form and structure. The Broaching has fourteen measures, with phrases of 2+2+4+the same 4 repeated+2 measures. This is Moronaga's phrasing, recognising cadences on *a*, *a*, *a*, *a* and *d*. *Sukoshi*, with fourteen measures, exhibits phrases of 2+2+(the same four measures repeated)+2+2+2 measures each. This again is Moronaga's phrasing, and here the cadences fall on *a*, *d*, *a*, *d*, *f♯*, *f♯* and *d*.

Sukoshi is marked out regularly in two-measure phrases; whereas in *JCYR* and *SGYR*, *Koinju* shows two four-measure phrase-indicators (*ichi*-signs) although (as with *Sukoshi*) its spontaneous musicality falls into seven, tidy, two-measure phrases. In this regard the tunes are very similar; but the formal organisation of the phrases differs: the form of the Broaching of *Koinju* is ABCDCDE, with E a reduction (and therefore a variant) of C–D; the form of *Sukoshi*, on the other hand, is ABABCB'B, with B repeating like a refrain. Accepting that the two-measure phrase-structure is common to both tunes, the Broaching shows seven cadences on *a*, *a*, *f♯*, *a*, *f♯*, *a* and *d*; while *Sukoshi* touches the same cadential notes but in a different order (as already shown): *a*, *d*, *a*, *d*, *f♯*, *f♯* and *d*.

Direct comparison of melodic formulae fails to yield clear evidence of shared material, although one can point to the presence of extended skeletal structures from one melody in condensed and precise form in the other. For example, the first five measures of the Broaching of *Koinju* can be underpinned, as it were, by the notes of the first two measures of *Sukoshi*.



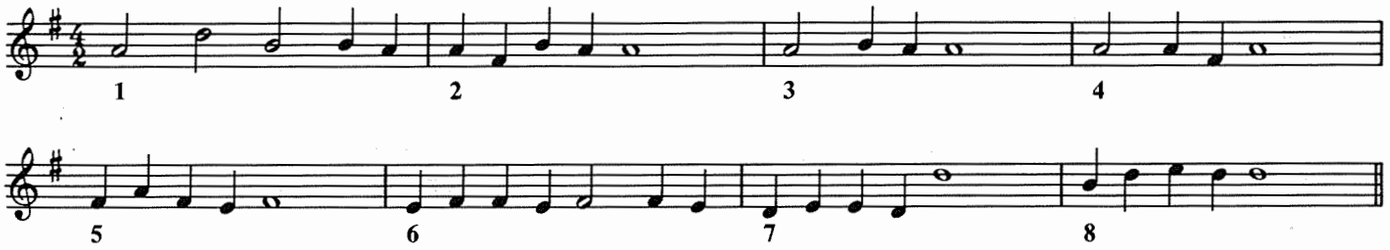
Similarly, measures 7 to 10 of the Broaching of *Koinju* are underpinned by measures 3 to 4 of *Sukoshi*.

The reader may not have recognised measures 1 to 10 of the Broaching of *Koinju* as kin to *Sukoshi*, or *vice versa*; but what is demonstrated here is that the first four notes of *Sukoshi* are indeed the principal notes of the first four measures of the Broaching, and that the repetition, in *Sukoshi*, of measures 1 to 4 in measures 5 to 8 repeats the same outline of measures 1 to 10 of the Broaching. That leaves measures 9 to 14 of *Sukoshi* to be accounted for; they too are in fact related, though not intimately, to measures 6 to 14 of the Broaching.

The two melodies share the same musical vocabulary, are akin in spirit, and are equally apt for the same kind of social entertainment to which their titles refer.

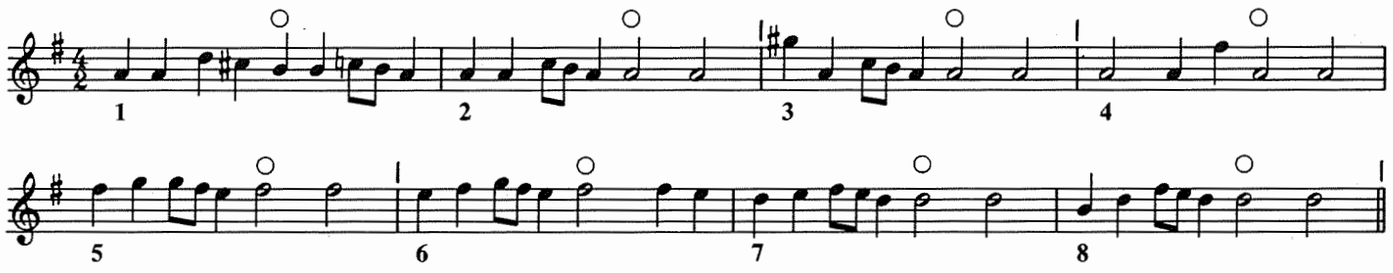
18 *Suseishi/Jiuqing zi* 'The Wine is Clear'

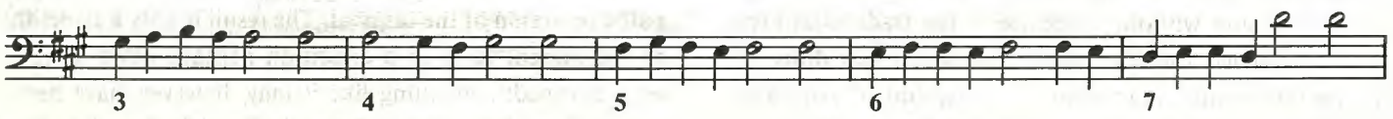
Jiuqing zi is a title unknown to the Chinese sources. Read as *Suseishi*, the piece is classed as 'old music', a term reserved for music originating on the Asian mainland before or during early Tang times; unfortunately (as noted elsewhere in relation to certain other titles) the exact meaning and reference of the title is uncertain. *KKS* records that *Suseishi* is said to be the Broaching of a composition of quizzical title: 返鼻胡德 'Repaying the Virtue of the Sogdian-with-the Nose', recalling the Sogdian wine-puppet of item 17 (Fascicle 4, p. 93); but no evidence is offered in support of this

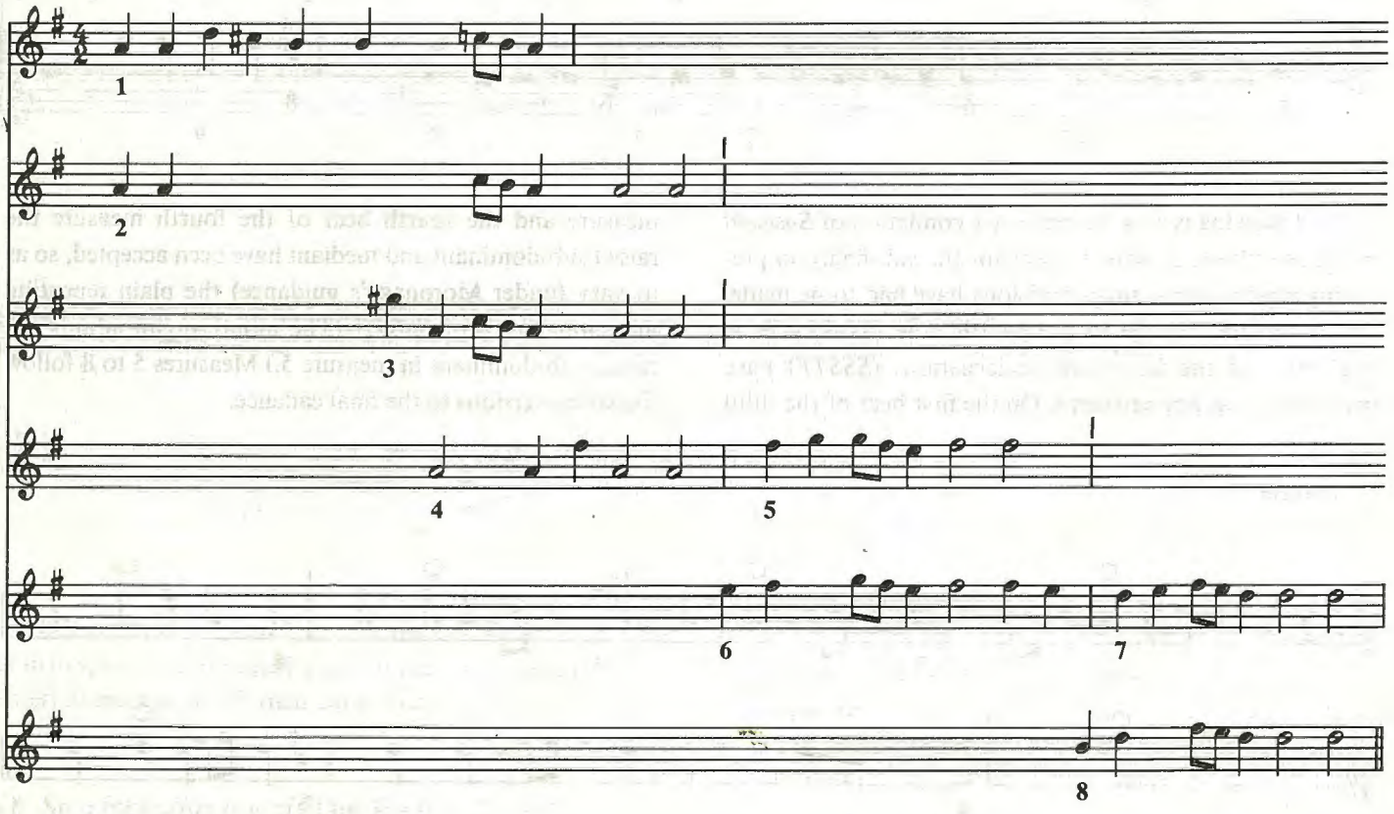
assertion. The absence of a dance, and of a mouth-organ version in *KF/HSFRK* (the elder of the two mouth-organ scores used in this series), suggests an early decline in popularity and consequent loss of interest in its retention; but in fact the piece has survived into the modern repertory. Nevertheless, this same tune, in a different mode, survived in the *Saibara* repertory, as preserved by Moronaga, in six string versions, and with only the simplest of texts (Markham, *op.cit.*, 2, pp. 270–1 and 386–7). The *Saibara*-title, *Mayutojime*, is sung in every measure except the first. This points to the tune's having been well known at court, perhaps already in the ninth century, though heard on less formal occasions than those at which respected *Tōgaku* items were performed. Whether or not there are musical connections between *Sukoshi* and *Suseishi* is a matter for speculation. There are faint resemblances between the tunes, but specific similarities are slender.

In attempting to make a conflation of *Suseishi*, one is faced with many decisions. It has been a useful exercise to draft a version without auxiliaries – the traditional *bian*; in this instance, the *bian* are the two notes that differ between the mouth-organ players' conception of *Ichikotsu-chō* (a Mixolydian octave-set on *d*) and Moronaga's revision of the same mode (a Lydian octave-set on *d*). The notes that differ in the two scales are the sub-dominant and the sub-final, *g*/*g*♯ and *c*/*c*♯. In sketching a draft of the conflation, these notes were replaced by dominant and final, the notes nearest to them in the traditional Chinese, heptatonic, Lydian, basic octave set. In addition, it was helpful to remove embellishments: mordents and passing notes, accepting as main note the second of two conjunct quarter-notes in a binary beat, and the first of two disjunct quarter-notes in a binary beat. Comparison of passages in longer note-values with the same passages in eighth- and sixteenth-note values in other sources has shown this premiss to be reliable. The procedure adopted placed more weight on the string-versions, since they exhibit the more idiomatic performance-practices; in this instance, therefore, they may be closer to the musical standards of those working in the tradition. The *gaku-sō* version, exhibiting the smallest number of occurrences of sub-dominant and sub-final, was allowed a slight priority. Deprived of ornaments and restricted to the five-note scale, the melody retained its tunefulness, albeit but a pallid reflection of the original. The result is only a skeleton of the present tune, in a condition perhaps never known or performed; something like it may, however, have been ancestral to the variants shown in Fascicle 4 and in the *Saibara* transcriptions of E.J.M.

A notional skeletal version of *Suseishi*

The following is a useful one-stave conflation of *Suseishi* in the mouth-organ scale (except for the sub-final), in preparing which several small decisions have had to be made. The chromatic change to the fourth note (as *SSSTF*) is retained, and the important acciaccaturas (*SSSTF*) have been written as appogiaturas. On the first beat of the third measure and the fourth beat of the fourth measure the raised sub-dominant and mediant have been accepted, so as to vary (under Moronaga's guidance) the plain repeating measures 2 to 4 of *SSSTF*. (The mouth-organ admits the raised sub-dominant in measure 5.) Measures 5 to 8 follow the string-versions to the final cadence.

Conflation

The name of Fujiwara no Moronaga is one to be spoken with respect. His two monumental compilations of string-scores in tablature contain the entire repertoires of *Tōgaku*, *Komagaku* and *Saibara*, for *gaku-sō* and *gaku-biwa*, as known in the late twelfth century. In this instance, he poses us with a problem: in the fourth measure of the bass-lute version of *Suseishi*, he shows a '*quasi*-halfway-cadence' on the sub-dominant – a feature absent from any of the other three instrumental versions of this title, in the *Saibara* and *Tōgaku* categories. Its appearance is as unexpected as it is inexplicable, the more so since the zither-version (also written down under Moronaga's direction) shows the regular dominant-cadence – as do all other version before us. However, if we make a simple reduction of measures 1 to 7 from *SGYR*, including the sub-dominant cadence, it would be contumelious to deny Moronaga the wit and capacity to recognise the sequential imitation, and its musical effect, which the sub-dominant cadence sets in motion from measure 4 through to measure 7. Could this perhaps have resulted from *biwa*-players having become accustomed to play and sing *Suseishi* without instruments other than their own, perhaps for several centuries, and thus, by unwittingly following their own musical judgement at this point, bringing about a deflection of the melodic line that gained acceptance? The falling patterns that result have logic and appeal for the musician, and this (after all) is a valid criterion for what survives in folk and traditional music. It is a tribute to Moronaga's musical perception that he allowed this differing version of Measure 4 in the string-scores to carry his *imprimatur* into posterity.

Bass-lute – measures 3 to 7

The structure and substance of *Suseishi* are simplicity itself. Two melodic formulae act as flexible note-patterns and cadence-formations, and each is confined within its own tetrachord. Comparison of *Suseishi* and the *Saibara* melody *Mayutojime* will be reserved for later comment, when *Kansuiraku* is discussed (p. 105).

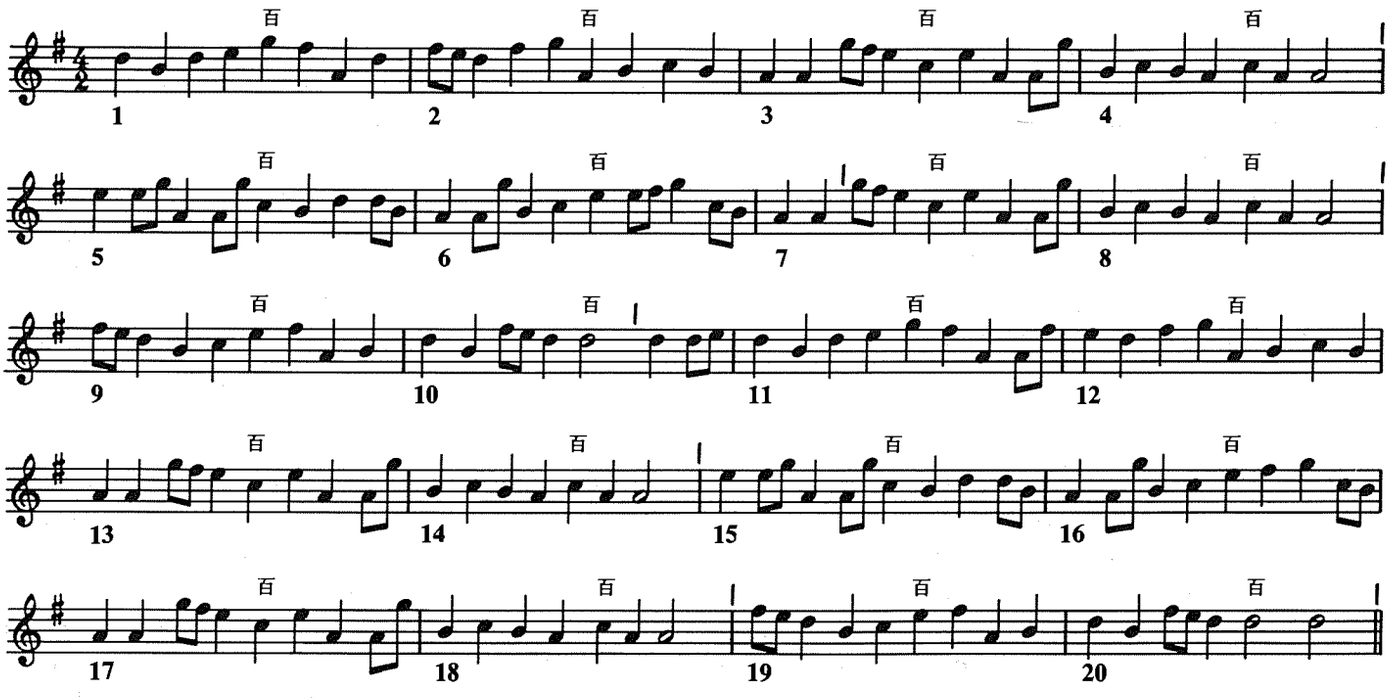
Formulaic analysis

19 *Onjuraku/Yinjiu yue* 'Drinking Wine'

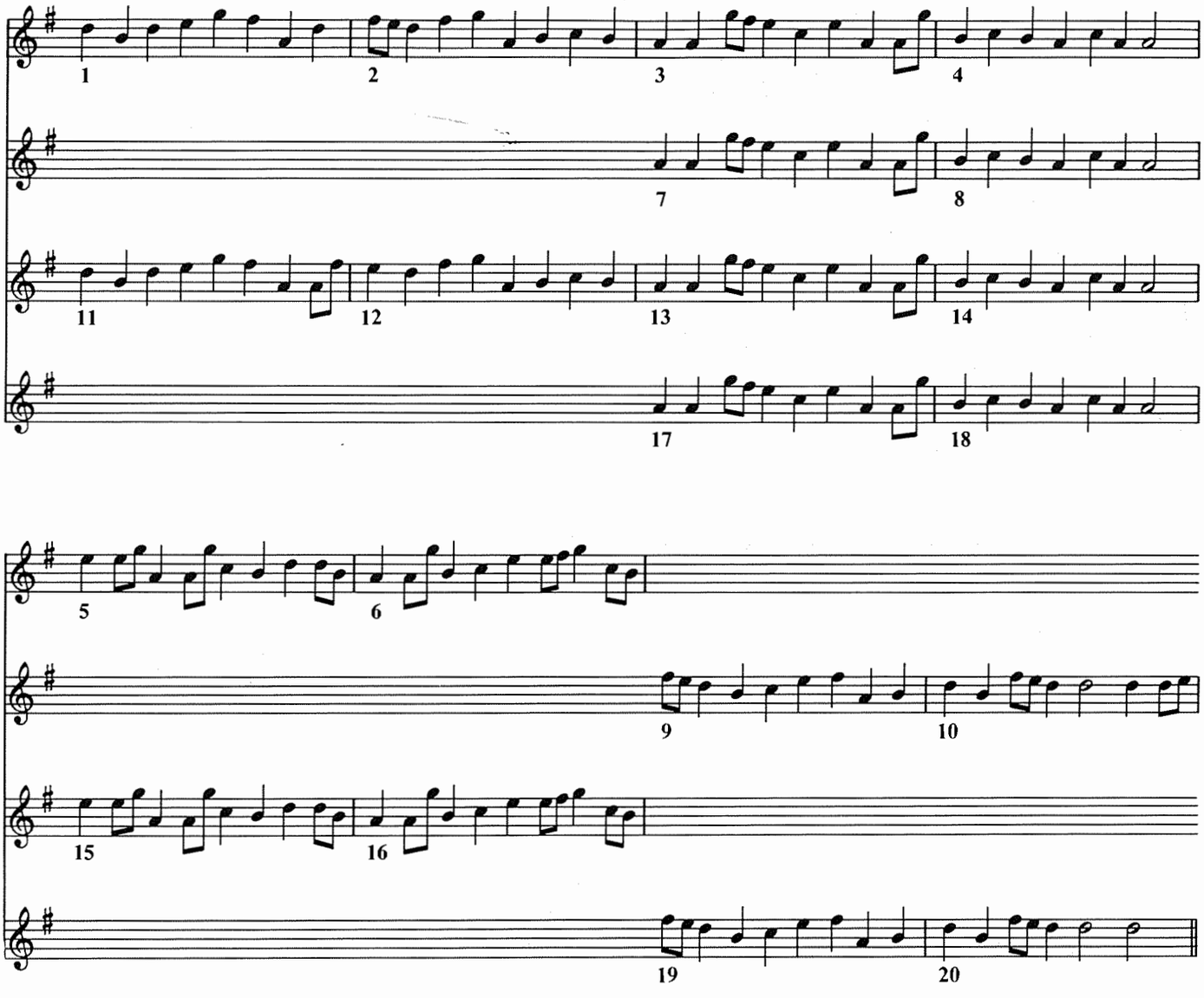
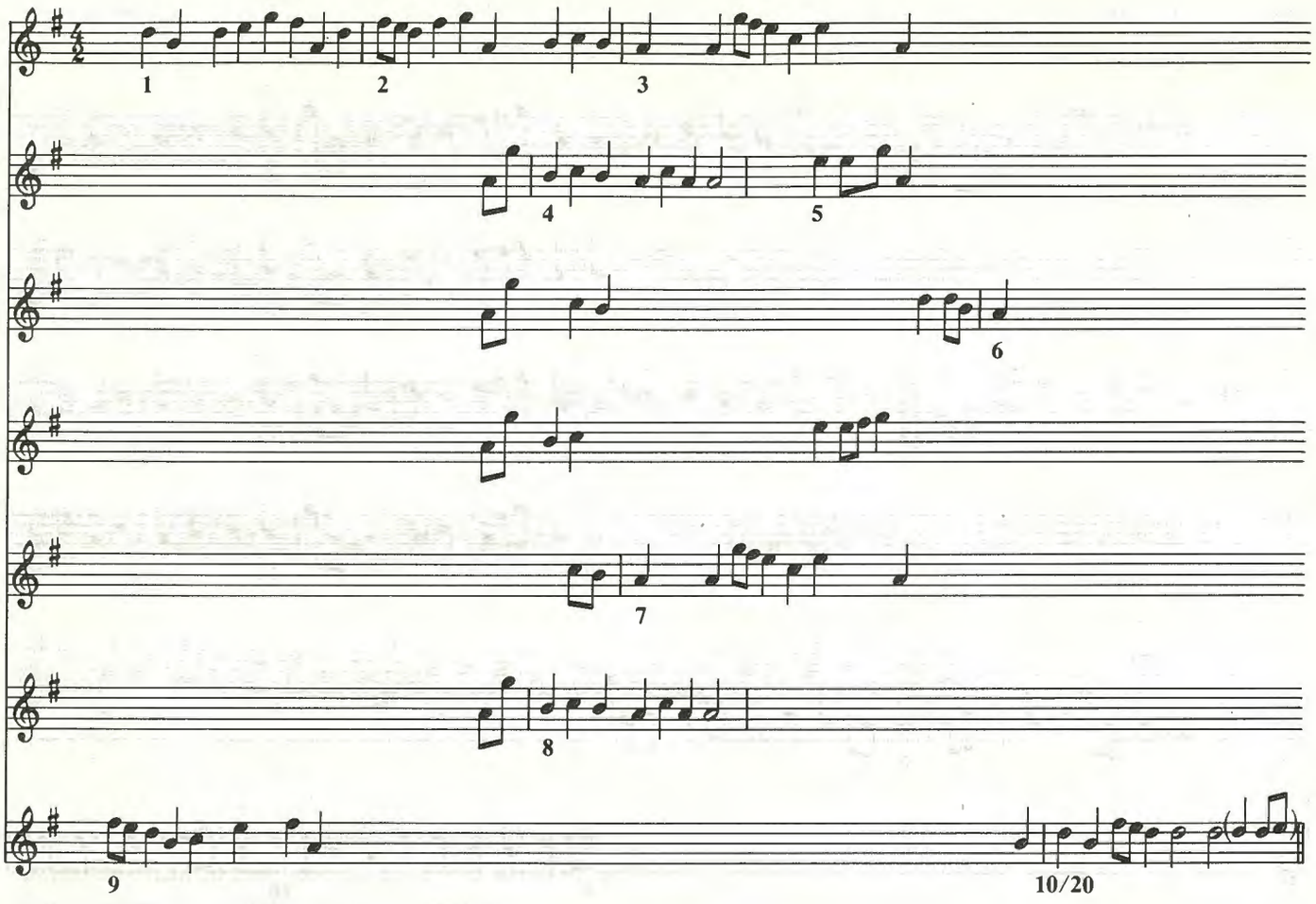
Of the selected primary sources for this series on music from the Tang, only the string-scores include *Onjuraku*. That it originated in Tang, or even was to be heard at the Tang court, is uncertain. Of its history nothing is known. Absent from the mouth-organ scores, and in the absence of information about it in the string-compendia and historical records so far examined, it is likely that, by the twelfth century, the Japanese themselves knew nothing of it other than its being an item in the *Tōgaku* repertory in the first mode. Moronaga's tacit admission that he knew nothing of the piece is conspicuous, in that his prefatory comments, in both sources, consist of six characters only, of which three are the title. Ostensibly twenty measures in length, *Onjuraku* in fact consists of ten measures repeated virtually without change. In this modal category it is the only item in twenty measures of eight beats throughout. The lack of information as to its class is answered only by implication: in Moronaga's listing, *Onjuraku* is placed among the 'small pieces' and directly following three 'old music' entries. No weight can be placed on a juxtaposition that may, however, be fortuitous.

The phrase-markings in the two scores prompt comment. The phrases are basically of two measures; but according to the placing of Moronaga's *ichi*-signs they do not consist of exactly eight binary beats (sixteen beats) each. There are *ichi*-signs at the ends of measures 4 and 8, and there is one in measure 7; but none is marked in measures 2 or 6. Consequently, one phrase – from measure 5 – is of eighteen beats; its successor is of fourteen beats and is followed by another of fourteen beats. A careful look at the distribution of *ichi*-signs throughout the length of twenty measures reveals structural irregularities which do not convince as reflecting the authentic structure of a basically well-formed melody, twice ten measures in length.

Evidence of this kind suggests that the melodies set out in *JCYR* and *SGYR* under this title are not the earliest versions of the piece. By Moronaga's day (1137–92), they were far removed in time from any 'original' melody – if indeed there ever was one such definitive version. Coupled with this is the lack of extra-musical associations – texts, dancers, ceremonies – apparently forgotten or obsolete, if they ever existed, but for two short poems, recorded in *GKR* of 1690, neither of which fits the melody in its instrumental form or even in a simplification of its present structure.

Structure is a theme to which one constantly returns in these discussions. To understand the nature and organisation of melody is among the principal objectives of our penetration into the music of the Tang court, and the aim of this enquiry is to discover and appreciate the musicality of the people of Tang and, from their music, to assess the criteria by which their efforts were measured in their own cultural context. Leaving aside the question whether *Onjuraku* is Chinese music or a Japanese imitation or something else, its structure can be appreciated when cadence-formulae are recognised and accounted for. Here two forms of dominant cadence-pattern are to be recognised. The first occurs three times: in measure 2 together with the first two beats of measure 3, in measures 4 and 8, and repeating in the second half in the same contexts; the second occurs once in measure 6 together with the first two beats of measure 7, where the *ichi*-sign is shown, and repeating in measures 16 and 17. The first form is basically the formula: *a*(–*b*)–*c*(–*b*)–*a*; while in measures 6 to 7 the second form is used: *f♯*–*g*–*b*–*a*. The single cadence-pattern on the mode-final concludes both halves of the melody: *b*–*e*–*d*, the last two beats of measure 10 acting as an anacrusis to introduce the following repeat. The complete melody is structured as two equal parts, with five unequal two-measure phrases in each part. The extension of the first and third phrases over the bar-lines typifies one of the changes that can happen in a tune divorced from its original context and associations by time and travel, and retained in the repertoire only by popular choice in a foreign location.

The conflation of *Onjuraku* is drawn from Moronaga's materials. To arrive at a version in keeping with other conflations here presented, the idiomatic string-style and range have been reduced to the simpler mouth-organ style and scale, with the signature of one sharp for the scale of the mode-key on *d*. There are ten phrases with eight cadences on the dominant and two on the mode-final.

Two analytical tables with comments follow. The first, a comparative table of measures, confirms what has been said about the repeating phrases of the composition.

Analysis by measures

A second table, analysis by formulae, illustrates more of the detail.

The dominant cadence-formulae in measures 2 to 3, 4 and 8, are clearer to the eye as variants of the one pattern, while the formula across measures 6 to 7 shows its independence from preceding dominant cadences, as well as its interdependence in the context provided. The relevance and purpose of the final phrase is clarified; it recalls the first measure, the formulae of which have not been prominent from the beginning, and prepares for, and announces, the return of the mode-final for the positive, formal conclusion. Some kind of preparation is appropriate since, in measures 1 to 8 (the first four of the five phrases) the final and mediant register the lowest values of all notes of the scale as deployed up to that point. In addition, analysis by formula confirms the indebtedness of the melody to measures 2 to 3, the patterns of which foster all central growth in the tune. In the final count of data drawn from the complete melody, the respective percentages of each note of the scale (based on totals of durations, pitch-occurrences and initials and finals of each measure) prove dominant and sub-mediant to be the most powerful notes in the entire composition: *a* amounts to 25 percent; *b*, 17 percent; *d* and *e*, 14 percent each; *c*, 11 percent; *g*, 10 percent; and *f*♯, 9 percent. Totals establishing these percentages are taken from applications of the weighted scale as follows:

Onjuraku

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*
Measures 1–8	45	26	19.5	13.5	19.5	11	18.5
9–10	2	7	2	13.5	7.5	6	–
11–20	48.5	33	21.5	24.5	24.5	17.5	18.5
Measures 1–20	95.5	66	43	51.5	51.5	34.5	37

20 *Ittokyō/ Yituan jiao* 'A Bevy of Beauties'

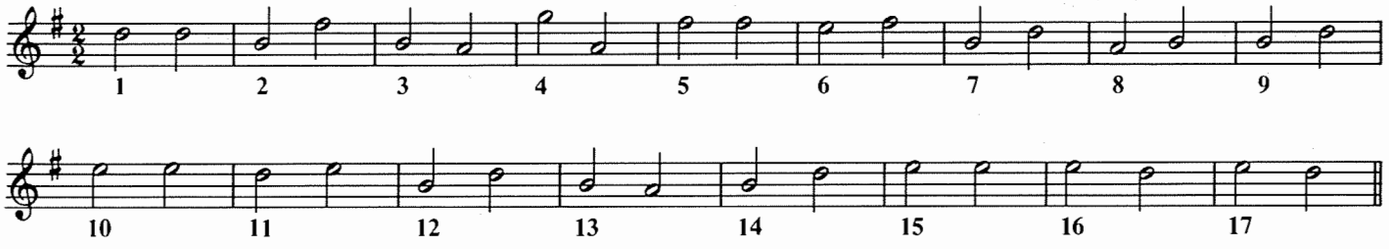
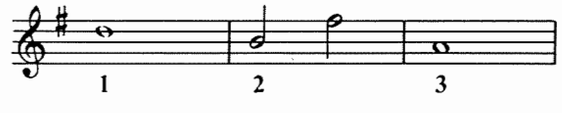
No evidence linking this item with the Asian mainland has been uncovered. That it was originally an ancient Chinese tune in the ritual style, or a Japanese imitation of such is possible on purely musical grounds (see later); but even if *Ittokyō* were so old – pre-sixth century even – and (for reasons unknown) its use had lapsed and been completely forgotten by the eleventh century, it is difficult to understand apparent ignorance of it at court at that time; the more difficult since pride in family-history and reputation was a compelling reason for maintaining written records for posterity, and achievements in music were among matters recorded in family annals. The gripping account (Fascicle 4, p. 103) of the discovery of the piece in the possession of one

of the families of the prestigious Minamoto clan, the Imperial House itself, and the seemingly prompt action of the Emperor Horikawa-in (1086–1107) to redress past ignorance and consequent neglect, with official instructions to render the piece to the wind repertory, with due care for notation and tradition (reference to earlier manuscripts), and thus to introduce or restore it to the standard ensemble-repertoire where, presumably, it belonged, renders yet more singular the absence of any observations on the history of the piece. What emerges clearly from the review of references to *Ittokyō* in Fascicle 4 is that very little was known to the Japanese by late-Heian and early-Kamakura times. The attribution of the composition to Ōto no Kiyogami, a highly regarded nobleman and flute-player at court in the ninth century, is implausible in view of the archaic musical style, long out of fashion by comparison with other tunes in this mode.

The evidence of style may be touched upon in passing. No written evidence supports the suggestion that *Ittokyō* may be an arrangement of an ancient Chinese tune in the ritual style, or a piece in imitation of that style (a piece that could also be old) composed by Japanese musicians. Such evidence as may exist lies beneath the surface. In the conflation, the scale is heptatonic, with auxiliaries *g* and *c* in the *Shang* mode-key on *d*. The auxiliaries together carry 9.9 percent of the total weight of the tune; in measures 1 to 9, it is 11.3 percent, and in measures 10 to 17, where *g* is silent, it is 8.2 percent. If we omit the first measure in repeating the tune, the auxiliary notes attract 12.7 percent of the total. Of the basic pentatonic notes in measures 1 to 9, *e* is very weak and *b* very strong; in measures 10 to 17, the reverse is true, and *a* and *f♯* are greatly reduced. A table of data, collated from weighted-scale applications, lists sectional and grand totals for the complete melody in seventeen measures.

Ittokyō

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–9	14.5	20	4	23	6	19	6.5
10–17	8.5	4.5	6.5	29	25.5	5	–
Measures 1–17	23	24.5	10.5	52	31.5	24	6.5

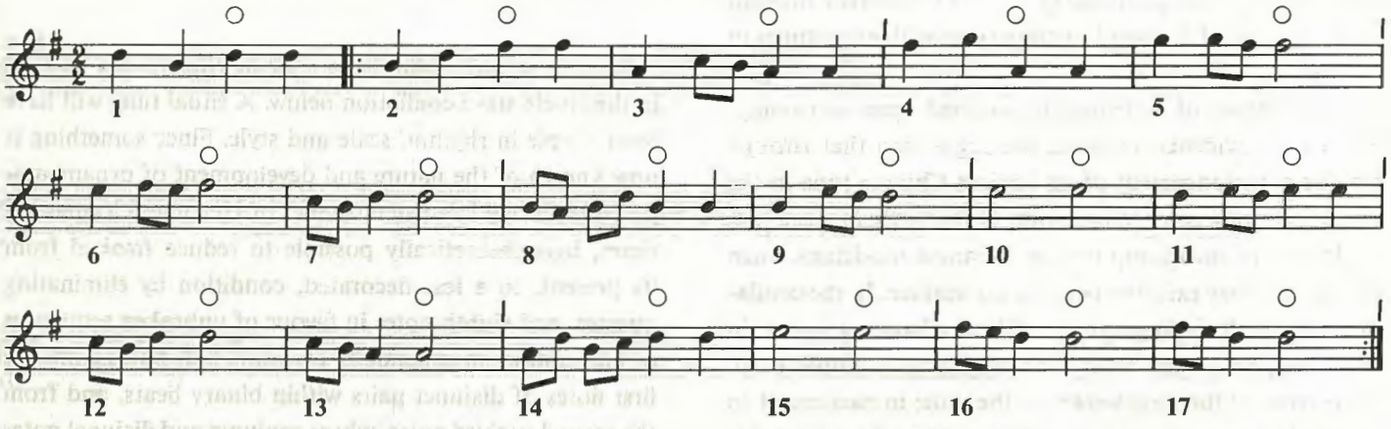
The shape and modal behaviour of *Ittokyō* can be seen in the single-stave conflation below. A ritual tune will have been simple in rhythm, scale and style. Since something is now known of the nature and development of ornamentation as reflected in written sources of Heian and Kamakura times, it is theoretically possible to reduce *Ittokyō* from its present, to a less decorated, condition by eliminating quarter- and eighth-notes in favour of unbroken sequences of half-notes – in general, by choosing half-notes from the first notes of disjunct pairs within binary beats, and from the second or third notes, where conjunct and disjunct notes occur within binary beats. This yields a hypothetical version of the tune:

This simple pentatonic melody would be suitable for an eight-line text with four monosyllabic words to a line. If the first three measures can be further reduced to allow measure 3 to fill out its true dominant duration:

the character of a chant has been restored.

In either form, *Ittokyō* evokes the musical past, and the question of its disappearance remains a mystery. Why did the discovery of the piece cause a stir at the Palace at the end of the eleventh century?

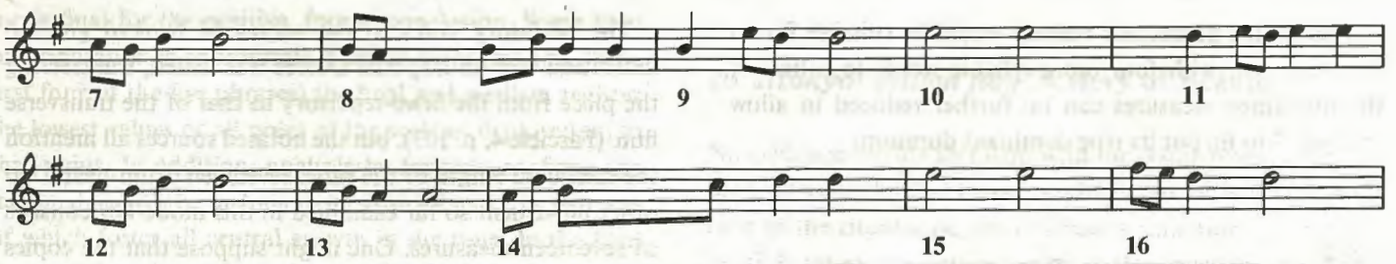
The prefatory notes to the scores of *Ittokyō* give no indication why an Imperial Decree was issued, transferring the piece from the *biwa*-repertory to that of the transverse flute (Fascicle 4, p. 103), but the notated sources all mention the measured length of the tune: seventeen drum-beats. No other movement so far examined in this mode-key consists of seventeen measures. One might suppose that the copies were in error but for the fact that the four sources examined agree on this point and, furthermore, that the last item in Fascicle 4 also consists of seventeen measures of four beats each. Equally surprising is the immediate repeat of the tune starting from the second measure, not marked in the string-scores but marked in *SSSTF* and written in, in the introductory notes in *JCYR*, *SGYR* and *RSCY*. On that basis, a repeat will consist of sixteen measures after the initial seventeen – in total, then, thirty-three, or forty-nine, or sixty-five measures, according to the number of repeats. This is surely

not to be expected from people so long accustomed to the operation of a binary principle governing all aspects of time, rhythm and form, in their music and dance traditions. Nevertheless, the evidence is strong that, in the performance of *Ittokyō*, this practice was correct, and the phrasing accomodated it. The indications define phrases of two measures duration following an opening phrase of three measures in *JCYR* and of five measures in *SGYR*. The binary division of the movement therefore falls unequally between measures 9 and 10. The first-time through consists of two 'halves' of nine- and eight measures each; the second and subsequent times consist of two equal halves of eight measures each.

The conflation of *Ittokyō* recognises that the *biwa*-version was that chosen by the Emperor for transfer to the transverse flute (Fascicle 4, p. 103). The sequence of notes adopted in the conflation follows the example of *SGYR*, transposed to the pitch and scale of the mouth-organ, in keeping with the common standard of conflations in this series; measures 5 and 13 differ slightly from the text of *SSSTF*. The phrasing is that marked by *ichi*-signs in *JCYR*.

Conflation

This piece does not call for detailed formulaic analysis. The melody displays little use of repeated note-patterns as building materials save for the prominence of the interval *b–d*, heard six times in seventeen measures, in measures 1, 2, 7, 8, 12 and 14. More rewarding is the observed ingenuity and musicality of the tune. The sequence of notes from measures 7 to 11 recurs varied in measures 12 to 16. The disguise of the variant is clever – perhaps unwittingly so: the structure of the phrases is crossed, and the rhythms are so altered as to allow much to be made of what was initially one of the shortest notes, the dominant in the *d–a* passage in measures 7 to 8 and 12 to 13, and vice-versa with the submediant in the passage, *b–d*, in measures 8 to 9 and 14.

Two staves for comparison, measures 7 to 11 and 12 to 16



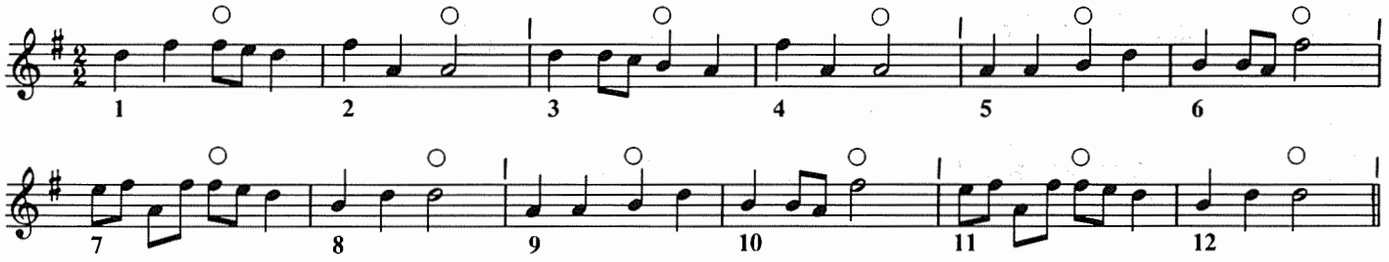
21 *Butokuraku/Wude yue* 'Martial Virtue'

In twenty-four binary beats, *Butokuraku* is the shortest movement of those reviewed in this modal group, except for *Sōba* (p. 113), relegated to Appendix 2 of Fascicle 4. *Butokuraku* is a remnant of a suite in three movements, of which the music of Prelude and Broaching, and the entire choreography, were extinct by the twelfth century. Despite the high moral tone of the title, the melody reflects the extrovert vigour of a popular dance-tune, and presumably, if still performed at court in Heian times, it would have been repeated a number of times with increasing tempo. *KKS* notes a report that, when used for religious purposes, *sandobyōshi* (three-times beats) was the practice; the consequent retardation of tempo would tend to subdue some-

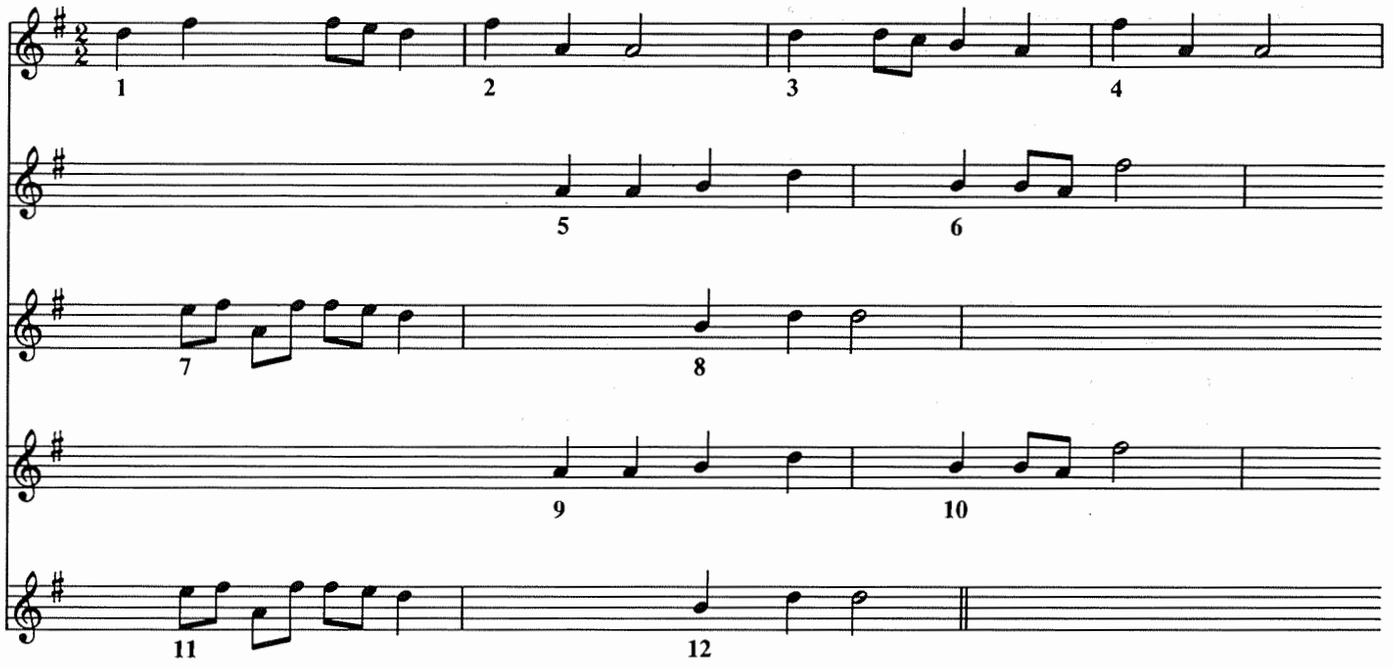
what the natural liveliness of the tune to a more appropriate solemnity.

Once again the quartet of versions is before us. The two mouth-organ sources provide twelve drum-beats (measures) written-out in tablature, while the string-scores show eight measures in tablature, with the second four measures marked for repetition. *SSSTF* exhibits small differences in the written repetition of the last four measures. The conflation adopts the *KF/HSFRK* version in twelve written-out measures, with the *ichi*-signs of *JCYR* and *SGYR*. Details of structure in the string-versions, not evident in the simplicity of the conflationary exercise, are: (1) in the primary version of the zither, octave-doubling, almost wholly at the expense of the pedal *D*, so often to be observed in the zither-chording of previous items; and (2) the lighter, linear texture of both secondary versions.

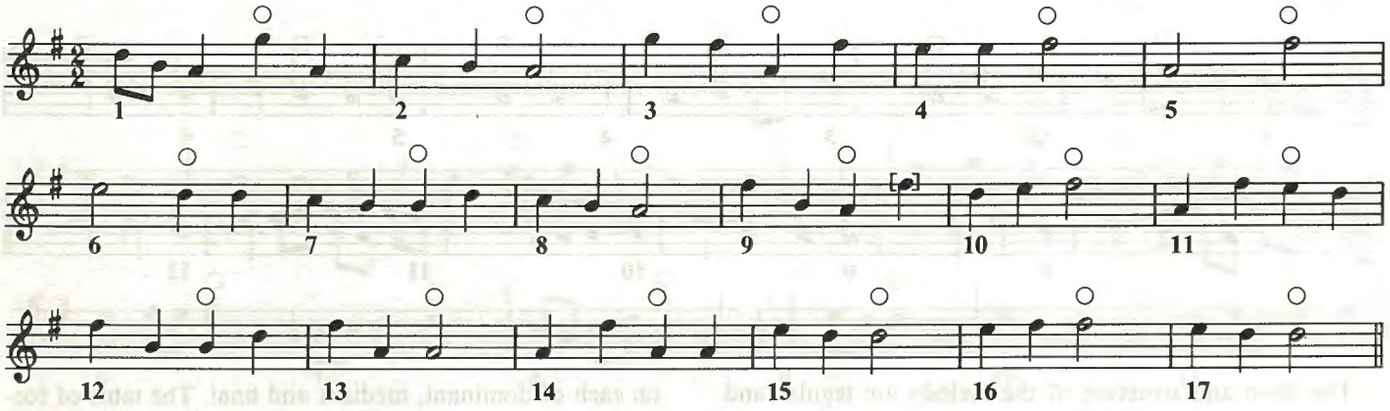
Conflation (*KF/HSFRK*)



The form and structure of the melody are regular and ingenuous. The scale is the basic pentatonic scale on *d*, with only light weight conferred on the super-final, and with a single instance of the sub-final as passing-note. All phrases are of two-measures duration, and there are two cadences on each of dominant, mediant and final. The table of formulaic analysis illustrates the latent concision of the tune. Measures 2 to 4 adumbrate measures 5 to 6 and their repetition in measures 9 to 10. The design and material of *Butokuraku* are simple and spontaneous, like the tune itself.

Formulaic analysis

22 *Sōba/Caopo* 'Grandmother Cao'

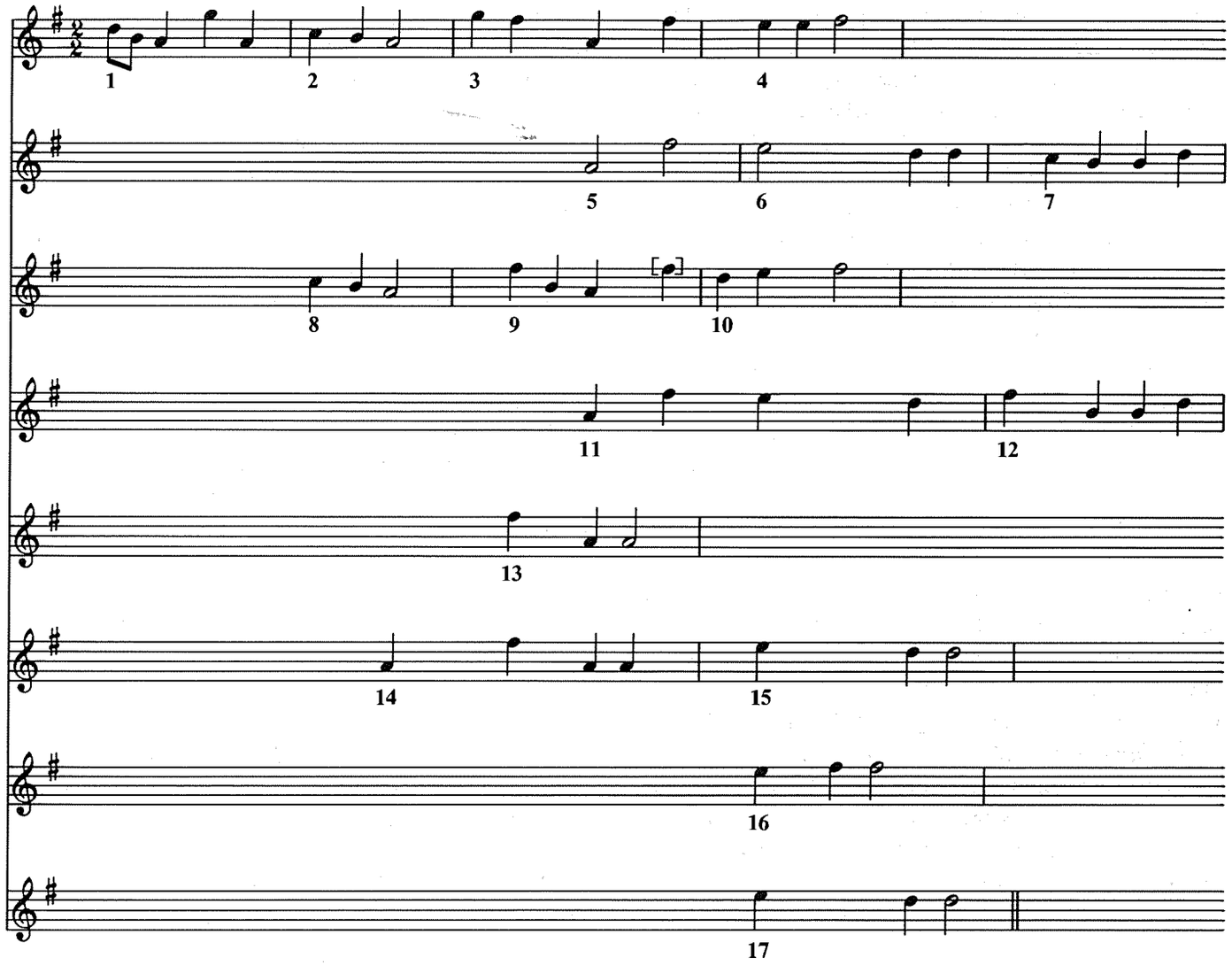
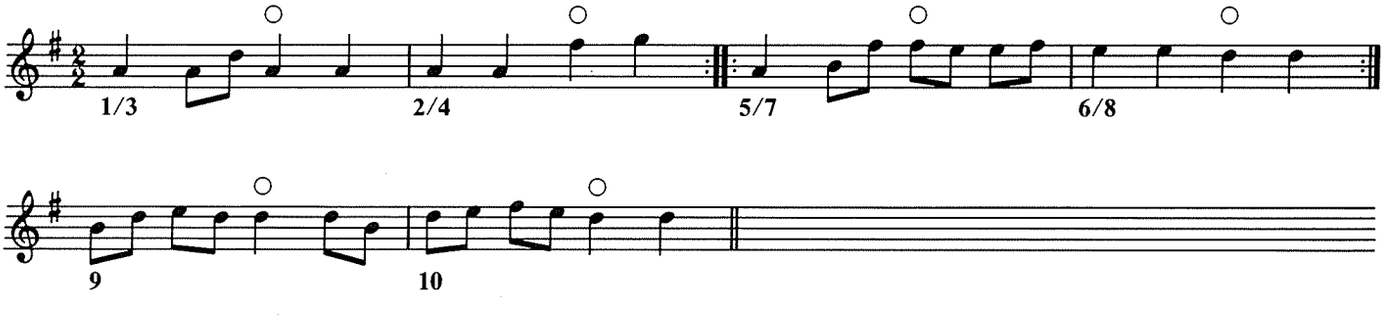
As *Sōba* is only found in *SSSTF*, the single transcription stands on its own, without comparative versions. The halfway point occurs at the end of measure 8 with the dominant cadence: 8+9=17 measures. The two sections break into phrases of two measures each, except for one three-measure phrase in measures 11 to 13: 2+2+2+2/2+3+2+2/. Allowing for the repeat as suggested, the modification occurs by reducing the first phrase, omitting the first measure: 1+2+2+2/2+3+2+2/. (The suggestion of a repeat, made on p. 113 of Fascicle 4, is an error due to confusion with *Ittokyō*, Fascicle 4, p. 102)

Conflation (*SSSTF*)

Musically the melody has its own charm, although the frequent half-notes are a trifle inhibiting to an otherwise comfortable movement. When the weighted-scale formula is applied (the totals of durations, numbers of occurrences of each note, and of initials and finals of each measure), the different perspectives of each 'half' of the melody are brought out in relation to each other and in relation to the whole.

The first eight measures are ruled by the dominant, other notes being of decidedly less power. Closest to the dominant is the mediant, but it is in no position to contest the authority of the dominant; nor is the final. In the nine measures of the second portion, the mediant has acquired individual leadership, with the final elevated to a much stronger position than at first, warding off the dominant from further hostile action. In the final count, dominant and mediant have adopted an impregnable partnership on equal terms, thus defeating and deflating the final and its ineffectual bodyguard, the super-final and the sub-mediant.

Weighted-scale data

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f♯*	*g*
Measures 1–8	19	9.5	9	10.5	9	13	5
9–17	19	6	—	21	13	26	—
Measures 1–17	38	15.5	9	31.5	22	39	5

The layered, formulaic analysis supports the dispensibility of the first measure and illustrates a formulaic affinity between measures 2 to 4 and 8 to 10, and between measures 5 to 7 and 11 to 12. Cadence-formulae are shared in measures 2 and 8, but not in measure 13; in measures 4 and 10; and in measures 6, 15 and 17.

23 *Kansuiraku/Hanzui yue* 'Merrily Drunk'

Investigation of the musical attributes of *Kansuiraku* has led to a comparison of three melodies, the associations of which hint at the possibility that they are musically related. In the summary of information about *Suseishi* in Fascicle 4, it was noted that *RMS* records a report 'that the song called *Mayutojime* is played to this tune' (namely *Suseishi*: Fascicle 4, p. 92); while L.E.R.P.'s introduction to *Kansuiraku* in Appendix 3 (Fascicle 4, p. 115) draws attention to Hirade's statement that 'this [*Kansuiraku*] is said to be used for the singing of the *Saibara* song-text: *Mayutojime*.' It would be hasty to assume that Hirade, speaking of *Kansuiraku* as a tune known to have been sung to the *Saibara* text, is implying that the tunes *Kansuiraku* and *Mayutojime* are alike, related, or possibly the same. As also said in the same

introduction: 'it is not at once apparent how a mouth-organ piece in ten 2/2-measures [*Kansuiraku*] could be used to sing a text distributed – in Moronaga. . . – over ten [eight is surely meant[1]] 4/2-measures [*Mayutojime*]' (Fascicle 4, p. 115). And he is right: in the eight-line stanza of *Mayutojime* (Markham, *op.cit.*, 2, 269–71) repetition of the title alone occupied seven lines, and its five syllables could not lie comfortably in measures of four beats without some editing, of which there is no sign in the versions of *Kansuiraku* provided. If one looks again at the same *RMS* report referred to above and attributed to the *Sadaijin* of the Emperor Horikawa-in (1086–1107): '. . .the song called *Mayutojime* is played to this tune [*Suseishi*]'; this means presumably that the song-text of *Mayutojime* was sung to the tune of *Suseishi*. E.J.M. has indeed shown that, by transposing the *Saibara* melody into the same mode-key as the *Tōgaku* item, the two tunes, both recorded by Moronaga, are the same tune in slightly varied forms (Markham, *op.cit.*, 1, 207).

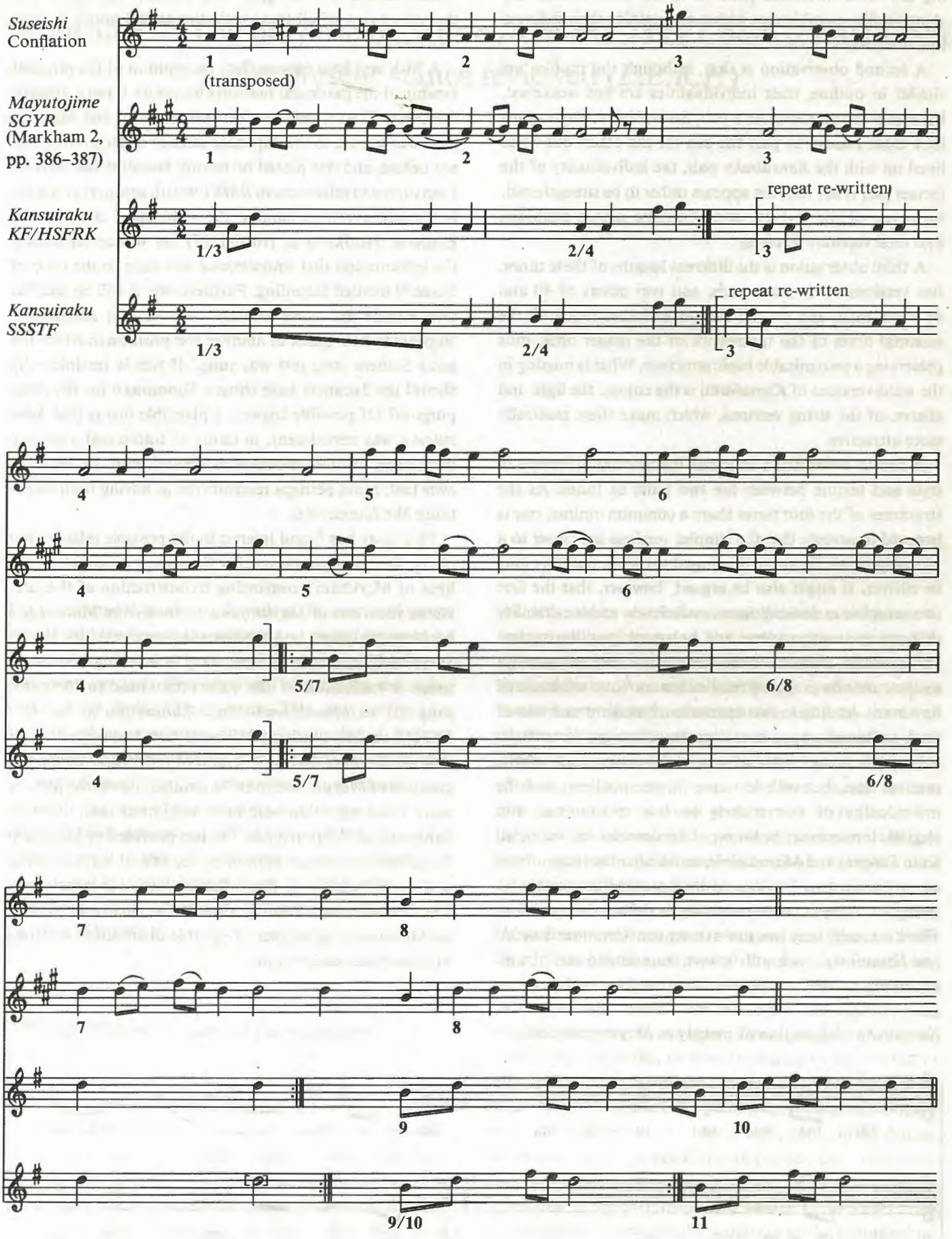
Consider now Hirade's reported statement that *Kansuiraku* 'is said to be used for the singing of the *Saibara* song-text. . .'. There is no doubt that he is speaking of the tune of *Kansuiraku* and the text of *Mayutojime*. Unfortunately, he does not say by whom, or when, this was said or how the song-text was appointed to meet the tune. There is no great difficulty in matching the syllables and rhythms of *Mayutojime* to the music of *Suseishi*; but there is every difficulty in attempting to fit the text to *Kansuiraku* in the mouth-organ versions that have come down through the ages. Having said this much, and admitting a quandary for which, so far, there is no visible solution, let the text be put aside for the moment so as to concentrate on the tunes themselves.

It can be shown that *Suseishi*, *Mayutojime* and *Kansuiraku*, share the same musical material and pursue the same progress from their first measure to their final cadences. To demonstrate resemblances, let their individual characteristics be recalled: *Suseishi* is an item of 'old music' in the first Sino-Japanese mode-key. Absent from the senior mouth-organ book of the Toyohara tradition, a conflation of *Suseishi* has been provided from the remaining three sources – one for mouth-organ and two for plucked stringed instruments (this fascicle, p. 93). Musical evidence for *Mayutojime* is confined to the string-tradition; it is to be found in a number of similar versions in *SGYR* and *SGYYR*, transcribed and compared by E.J.M. (Markham, *op.cit.*, 2, p. 386). For this study, the present author has selected the first of Moronaga's three lute-versions from *SGYR*, transposed it from the *Sō* mode-key on *g* to the *Ichikotsu* mode-key on *d*, and arranged it in the mouth-organ scale for comparison with other conflations. *Suseishi* and *Mayutojime* display the same number of measures, the same number of beats per measure, and are well preserved, thanks to Moronaga's careful protection. The two melodies are indeed closely related (see later).

Kansuiraku is documented by just two early versions for mouth-organ. These are clearly the same basic melody, and the differences between them are minimal.

Comparison of *Suseishi*, *Mayutojime* and *Kansuiraku*, is tabled in the following material forms: *Suseishi*, the conflation (see p. 93); from *SGYR*, *Mayutojime*, in modal transposition and mouth-organ scale (Markham, 2, pp. 386–387); and *Kansuiraku*, both mouth-organ versions, to show their dependence on each other and, at the same time, their independence of the *Suseishi* and *Saibara* versions. The repeat of measures 1 to 2 in measures 3 to 4 of *Kansuiraku* is written out in the table to show the continued shadowing of the fuller versions by the mouth-organ versions.

[1] Yes indeed! (L.E.R.P.)

Comparative table: *Suseishi*, *Mayutojime*, and two versions of *Kansuiraku*

The first observation to be made is that the four melodies follow the same curvilinear progress from first to last. Sharing the same formulaic patterns in the same order, they share profile resemblances, although retaining their different individualities.

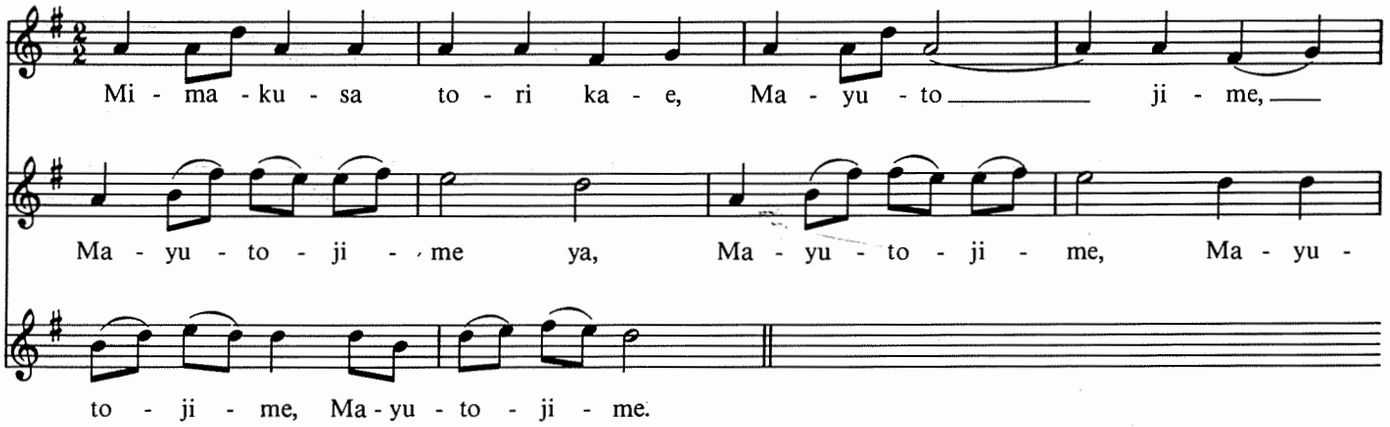
A second observation is that, although the profiles are similar in outline, their individualities are not weakened, but rather the opposite. As a pair, *Suseishi* and *Mayutojime* look close enough to pass the one for the other; but when lined up with the *Kansuiraku* pair, the individuality of the former pair is not lost, but appears rather to be strengthened, by virtue of the stylistic and idiomatic details absorbed into their separate textures.

A third observation is the different lengths of these tunes: two versions of 64 beats each, and two others of 40 and 44 beats each; and yet the shorter melodies touch all the essential notes of the framework of the longer ones, thus preserving a recognisable basic structure. What is missing in the wind-versions of *Kansuiraku* is the colour, the light and charm, of the string versions, which make them musically more attractive.

A fourth observation concerns the marked difference in style and texture between the two pairs of tunes. As the structures of the four tunes share a common outline, one is tempted to assume that the simpler versions are closer to a prototype than the more developed versions, and this may be correct. It might also be argued, however, that the first two complete melodies possess a wholeness and inevitability that are mature, complete and balanced, positive in time and direction, from the initial dominant insistence, through to the carefully prepared final cadences: four measures of dominant, leading to two measures of mediant and two of final; nothing hasty or irresolute. In reduction, *Kansuiraku* follows the same order of progress in two-thirds of the musical time, but with less care for the mediant; and the individuality of this melody in less spontaneous and elegant. It may never be known if *Kansuiraku* was extracted from *Suseishi* and *Mayutojime*, or whether the longer tunes are subsequent realisations of the potential of the shorter ones; but surely it is not necessary to debate this question. There are really only two tunes under consideration: *Suseishi* and *Kansuiraku*, each with its own features and each retaining its traditional independence in function and practice. Whether the same song-text was sung to them, at different times in history, on separate occasions, or under different circumstances, is of no great importance; what matters is the rediscovery of all these melodies as real music in their own context.

A fifth and final observation, recognition of the physical kinship of the particular melodies before us, is not a modern discovery. The resemblance between *Suseishi* and *Mayutojime* was known to the Japanese already in Heian times, if not before, and was placed on record; attention has already been drawn to references in *RMS* (twelfth century) and *KKS* (thirteenth century) naming the nobleman, close to the Emperor Horikawa-in (1086–1107) on whose reputation the information that *Mayutojime* was sung to the tune of *Suseishi* merited recording. Furthermore, it will be recalled that Hirade has more recently asserted that *Kansuiraku* 'appears to be a Quick of another composition to which the same *Saibara* song-text was sung.' If this is feasible, why should the Japanese have chosen *Kansuiraku* for the same purpose? Of possible answers a plausible one is that *Kansuiraku* was reminiscent, in terms of traditional Japanese musicality, of other melodies associated with the *Mayutojime* text, tunes perhaps remembered as having been something like *Kansuiraku*.

This essay has found interest in the possible relationship of the four tunes to each other through a song-text, in the light of Markham's convincing reconstruction of the late-Heian vocal line of *Mayutojime*, realised from Moronaga's bass-lute tablatures and the *katakana*-version of the text in *SGYR* (Markham, 2, pp. 280, 281). It is fitting now to attempt a realisation of the *Kansuiraku*-tune to the same song-text as *Mayutojime*. Since *Kansuiraku* in the *KF/HSFRK* version consists of 40 beats, and *Mayutojime* in its *Suseishi* form, of 64 beats, several of the repeats of the five syllables of *Mayutojime* must be omitted, unless the phrases marked for repetition were to be sung more than the standard twice of Western habit. The text provided by Markham (2, p. 269) consists of eight lines, the first of eight syllables and the remainder of five syllables each: *ma-yu-to-ji-me*. The following realisation in modelled as closely as possible on Moronaga's principles of syllable-distribution in terms of time-values and rhythm.

Kansuiraku: Adaptation of melody to *Mayutojime* text

Appendix 2: The purpose of *Music from the Tang Court* restated, and the present stance reviewed (*L.E.R.P.*)

It is anticipated that the sixth fascicle of this series will see the end of our studies of the sequence of items, grouped by Fujiwara no Moronaga in the modal category of *Ichikotsu-chō*; more precisely, Fascicle 6 will contain the remaining items of the *Sada-chō* sub-group. This essay might have been placed, appropriately, at the end of Fascicle 6, but certain critical comments on our work reveal a profound misunderstanding of our aims, misapprehensions regarding the nature of the Tang-Music repertory as it survives in Japan, and a mistaken assessment, of the extent of prior historical enquiry into the sources of this music and the results of such enquiry, and of the nature and degree of modification of that music over a timespan of more than a thousand years. (See Marett, 1985, 1986.)

I *The traditional nature of the repertory*

Like the smaller repertory of *Saibara* (in number of items rather less than half the bulk of the *Tōgaku*-repertory) the surviving body of *Tōgaku* music in tablature is to be compared with a folk-song repertory, a largely orally transmitted tradition, in that, until relatively recently, a *received text* has never existed. The questions previously posed as to whether a set of synchronous manuscript-scores ever existed, were proper questions at a time when today's *Tōgaku* performance-practice encouraged the view that the '*Gagaku*-orchestra' is a standard *ensemble*, and the scores for individual instruments are therefore to be regarded as *parts*. Progressively it has become evident that we do wrong to look at the repertory in this way, under the influence of Western conceptions of 'orchestral' performance. The various items notated in tablature for particular, melodic instruments, are not *parts*, destined for performance in heterophonic ensemble; they are *versions*, appropriate to the mechanics and range of each of the five melodic instruments; they were never tailored, one version in respect to another, so as to yield a particular overall effect in ensemble-performance. At least during the first three centuries of Japanese performance of *Tōgaku*, from the middle of the ninth century onwards, performers will have known that each instrumental version was a complete piece of music, perfectly satisfying in itself, not requiring the addition of any other melodic instrument to make it complete, but always (we may suppose) to be given extra dynamic life by the addition of limited percussion. Records of performers and performances suggest that, during this earliest period of performance by noble court-musicians, the ensemble was usually incomplete in the light of later practice. There is no reason to suppose that such performance, by fewer kinds of instruments, was regarded as inadequate. Conversely, we know that, during the Nara period, much larger ensembles, with other instruments – harps, other lutes, other drums, other mouth-organs, keyed metallophones, etc. – were occasionally employed, ensembles more similar to those recorded in Chinese accounts of the Banquet Music of the Tang Court.

Regardless of this secular variation in the nature of instrumentation in ensemble, any musician has only to look at our transcriptions of mouth-organ, zither-, and lute-versions to see that each is musically complete in itself. For the flute, this has been abundantly demonstrated for the tenth and eleventh centuries by A.J.M.'s transcription of *Hakuga's Flute*

Score (Marett, 1977). But while the manuscript-sources bear witness to the *completeness*, in musical character, of the items notated in tablature, these same sources also demonstrate the existence of copious *variants*, abundantly recorded in glosses in *JCYR*, *SGYR*, and *RSCY*; less abundant, but still present, in *HFF* and *SSSTF*.

Given this tendency towards the formation of variants, exhibited by early instrumental versions of the Tang-Music repertory, it is self-evident that adjustment between versions for different instruments will have been inescapable in attempting to secure satisfactory *ensemble*-performance. What practical difficulties musicians must have faced, for example, in attempting to reconcile Moronaga's primary string-version of the Prelude to *Ō-dai hajin-raku* with the version of the Toyohara mouth-organ tradition (see Fascicle 1, pp. 43–55)!

The period during which improvisation, leading to the generation of variants, is most likely to have occurred in Japan was surely that during which performances of the Tang-Court repertory were largely dependent on Korean and Chinese professional musicians performing without benefit of notations; but it is also likely that the improvisatory element was, even then, no more conspicuous than it is today among high-quality Chinese professional musicians, when performing items from the traditional, urban, popular, Chinese repertory. It is (and was) improvisation at the level of small-scale, decorative variation. Both for noble performers of the Tang Music, able to read the tablatures, and for their successors, the trained musicians, ancestors of todays *Gakunin* 樂人 in the Music Division of the Imperial Household, largely learning by rote, the scope of improvisation will have been severely restricted. Indeed, in view of the space given to notations of the syncopated, binary, *gakubyōshi*-versions in *JCYR* and *SGYR* (Fascicle 4, p. 117), it may be doubted that musicians were able to *invent* such versions (or even mechanical ternary versions, *tadabyōshi* 只拍子, and other rhythmic modal variants) 'off-the-cuff'.

From the condition of the scores in tablature for mouth-organ, zither and lute today, as used in modern Tang-Music performance, it seems certain that any substantive change was minute – much as occurred in the elaboration of the *qin*-repertory in China. (L.E.R.P. recalls the minimal touches added, in age, by an old friend, Mr Xu Yuanbai 徐元白, to the zither-piece *Pu An zhou* 普菴咒.) Among *qin*-players, venerated Teachers permit themselves, and are permitted, to add tiny glosses – for example, to dot one of a pair of originally equal notes, or to add a *lun* 仑=輪; and geographical separation in China has encouraged the slow divergence of practice between *Qin*-schools – much as in *Komagaku*-performance, between performers of the *Shitennōji*, and other centres of performance, in Japan. In general, it may be stated with confidence, that no more licence was, or is, permitted the performer in a *Tōgaku* ensemble than that permitted a *qin*-player's performance of any item learned from his teacher.

Although a great work of collation was evidently undertaken in the Momoyama period (Fascicle 1, p. 7, n. 7), not until the Meiji period, so far as can be ascertained at present, was a set of mutually compatible versions for ensemble-use prepared, in the editing of the *Sentei-fu*.[1] Going back in time to the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, we can see that, from then onwards, the extent to which variants are notated, in parallel with the main body of each version, is reduced. The display of variants, as glosses to right and left of the main column of tablature-signs, is conspicuous in the collectanea of Moronaga and, in relation to certain items, in *RSCY* – that is, in both zither- and lute-versions. Variants are relatively rare in *Hakuga*, in the earliest mouth-organ scores, and in post-*Hakuga* flute-scores. Moronaga's practice of setting out a sequence of entire primary and secondary versions had but one successor: his *Sango-chūroku* 三五中録. At times, the first is a simple, binary version of a piece; the second, a more decorated version, commonly in the binary, syncopated, rhythmic mode *gakubyōshi*. In both instances, it seems likely that Moronaga is displaying two stages in elaboration: a less decorated, and a more decorated, version of the same Tang original. At another time, a second version may reveal itself as a variant by what it contains, rather than by the degree of decoration of the material. Of this last type are the variant versions, both for zither and lute, of the Prelude in *Ō-dai hajin-raku* (Fascicle 1, p. 58).

Scrutinizing the various kinds of variants, ranging in dimensions from single notes, or dynamic details, to entire movements, that which is of musical importance for our purposes is: that *they never modify, to any significant extent, the basic musical materials out of which a given item has been constructed*. It is the recovery of those basic musical materials that is our objective.

In certain circles the opinion appears to exist that, before transcribing into staff-notation the musical contents of a single manuscript, all existing copies, of all dates, of that manuscript should have been collated. Our position is: that the differences between copies are trivial in relation to *a primary survey of the basic materials*. It may well be asked: what would eventually be done with the resulting mass of variant detail, if indeed all copies had been so collated – all small-scale, or large-scale, variants noted and transcribed? The notion that one would then be in a position to assemble a single, definitive text, even for a single manuscript, is ludicrous. The fact is (as already stated) that the Tang-Music repertory, like the smaller *Saibara*-repertory, is to be compared with a folk-song tradition. And the notion, that collation of all copies, of all manuscripts, for each of the five melodic instruments, would ultimately permit the establishment of a definitive text, is as implausible, and as misconceived, as would be that of extracting a definitive musical and verbal text for the Child Ballads from the recorded variants of that tradition.[2] 'In tradition there is always divergence' – as Bronson[3] said so well.

[1] Picken, L.E.R. and Mitani, Yōko (1979) 'Finger techniques for the zithers *sō-no-koto* and *kin* in Heian times,' *Musica Asiatica* 2, pp. 89–114; see p. 93.

[2] Bronson, B.H. (1959–72)

[3] Bronson, B.H. (1980)

Even where a manuscript provides an entire variant movement, as with Moronaga's variant Prelude for *Ō-dai hajinraku*, it is evident that the musical constituents of primary and secondary versions are essentially the same; and the manner in which these are manipulated in the two versions is also the same in principle. The obliteration of either version from the historical record would not change, to any significant extent, our view of the structure of the Prelude, or of the formulaic elements, or of the compositional procedures, by which a lengthy movement has been generated from its constituents, as shown by N.J.N. (Fascicles 2, 3, 4).

In our *first ever transcriptions into staff-notation* of these *earliest surviving manuscripts* – let no one suppose that others have preceded us – the transcription of variants, in those particular copies of particular manuscripts, has been scrupulously performed, and has served to make plain to the reader the nature and extent of variability explicit in each principal source. In the light of our previous experience of variability in *Tōgaku*-sources, there was surely justification for ignoring variants in a first ever transcription of the *Saibara*-repertory, as preserved by Moronaga in zither- and lute-tablatures. Critics reveal only their ignorance of the nature and scope of variance, correlated with their inability themselves to undertake such a transcription. Comparison of the work of transcription with editorship of the Haydn Edition, with its implication of the existence of some similarity between editing Haydn's output, documented in manuscripts and printed publications, and the editing of transcriptions from the earliest manuscript-sources of *Tōgaku* or *Saibara* – for neither of which did a received text exist until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – is inappropriate. It both betrays misconceptions regarding the nature of Haydn scholarship, and profound misunderstanding of the task of those participating in *Music from the Tang Court*.

Again, we have been criticised for using, in one instance, a late copy[4] of a manuscript, even though no objection has ever been raised where we are entirely dependent on eighteenth-century copies for knowledge of Hakuga's collection: *Shinsen gaku-fu*. The reason for our using a late copy of *JCYR* was that it is a *dated* copy. In our cautious Western way, we still attach importance to a precisely dated copy, rather than an attribution to the lifetime of the signatory to a colophon. Our detractors, in positing the possibility of incremental deterioration in later copies, are unjust to Japanese scribes and to their fidelity as copyists. Let critics only compare zither- and lute-versions in our quasi-fullscores, and it will be evident that the musical match of *JCYR* of 1781 and *SGYR* of 1328 represents an incredibly high standard of accuracy in transmission, and in faithfulness to the original, on the part of the scribes. The inability of critics to read the tablatures (save where they have acquired a little knowledge from *our* published transcriptions), and hence their inability to assess the *musical* quality of documents, accounts for such ill-founded hypotheses as that of cumulative deterioration in the manuscript-tradition.

Our view: that variants are of minimal importance, in judging the nature of the basic, musical materials preserved in the earliest manuscripts of the Tang-Music repertory, is supported by the variability to be observed in the oldest surviving sources – sources themselves of Tang date. As shown by R.F.W. (1975,[5] 1977), in the first ever study in which *FBBF* was completely transcribed into staff-notation, there are minor differences between the possibly eighth-century fragment, known as *Tempyō biwa-fu*,[6] and the corresponding modal prelude (*Huangzhong diao,* III 2) in *FBBF*. There are also differences between *FBBF* and the version of that manuscript preserved by Moronaga in *SGYR*.

Synchronic *modal variability* is *demonstrated* in all three groups of extended Preludes as they survive in *FBBF*.

In the *Fengxiang diao* (風香調) (a Dorian note-set on *A*: *A B C D E F*♯ G), the second Prelude (I 2: Wolpert, 1977, p. 153) makes use of *G*♯ in the concluding passage.

Of the Preludes in *Fan Fengxiang diao* (返風香調) (a Mixolydian note-set on *A*: *A B C*♯ *D E F*♯ *G*), Prelude II 1 (*ibid.*, p. 156) is without accidentals; in II 2 (p. 157) only the first *G*s are natural, the rest are sharpened. II 3 (p. 159) shows first *G*♮, then *G*♯, and again *G*♮. II 4 (p. 160) makes use first of natural, and later sharpened, *G*s and sharpened and natural *D* as well.

Of the five Preludes in *Huangzhong diao* (黃鐘調; Dorian on *E*: *E F*♯ *G A B C*♯ *D*), III 1 (p. 161) is strictly in the named mode; III 2 (p. 162) (of which the *Tempyō* lute-score – above – is a portion) is strictly Dorian; but in the version in *SGYR*, the *G* is sharpened. Sharpening also occurs in III 3 (p. 163). III 4 (p. 163) and III 5 (p. 164) are strictly Dorian on *E*, as the modal name presupposes.

[4] In this connection, others have recently taken occasion to point out, with regard to *SGYR*, that an earlier copy exists than that consistently used by us as primary source for the lute-tradition preserved by Fujiwara no Moronaga. The existence of this item, among the bequest to the Library of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo made by the Fushimino-miya family, became known to us in 1972; but, as with the bulk of items in that bequest (Fascicle 1, p. 34), this manuscript was not accessible at that time, because of the need for strengthening repairs. The date of the manuscript is estimated as *ca* 1250. The difference between 1250 and 1328 is of inconsiderable importance in the light of our experience of the manuscript-tradition, now covering a time-span of almost a thousand years.

[5] The date of Dr Wolpert's dissertation is given because of improper transmission of material from that dissertation – a gift made in confidence – to an unauthorized person without reference to the donor. A similar improper transmission of knowledge of Dr Markham's dissertation of 1979 has been noted.

[6] The modal-prelude character of this piece is consistently ignored in subsequent Japanese publications, notwithstanding R.F.W.'s identification, and disregarding the clear heading: *Kōshō/Ōshiki* 黃鐘 [= *Ōshiki-chō*]. The misguided action of the *Shōsō-in* photographer in falsifying contrast, in order to clarify erasures, has led to erroneous notions as to the nature of this item. It should be noted that only one photograph of this so-called *Tempyō biwa-fu* exists, judging from the multiple reproductions. This solitary print fails to show the limits of the sheet, the sheet itself being masked on all four sides, so that only the area that includes the tablature-signs is revealed; nor do the many reproductions ever state the dimensions of the original.

Structural variance also is exhibited between versions of the Preludes in *FBBF* and *SGYR*. *Lacunae* may occur in *FBBF* as compared with *SGYR*, as well as conversely. Occasionally *SGYR* cites three different versions of the same passage in *FBBF*; in the case of Preludes III 3, 4, and 5, in *FBBF*, these are absent from *SGYR*.

As a further example of *modal variability*, mention may be made of Moronaga's unexplained (but evident) decision to transpose all Mixolydian (*Shang diao*) items in the *Ichikotsuchō* modal group, both in zither-(*gaku-sō*) and lute-(*gaku-biwa*) versions, from Mixolydian to Lydian modality, regardless of the evident Mixolydian character of the mouth-organ versions, and at times regardless of the stated modality of items as recorded in Chinese sources. (See *Music from the Tang Court*, 1, p. 27.)

Again, as shown by R.F.W. (1975, 1981), in a first study in which the entire *Gogen kin-fu* (*GGKF*) (the score for five-stringed lute, dated 842 but alleged to be a later copy) was transcribed, variation is evidently a principal procedure in the creation of the twenty items preserved, eight of which consist of a number of varied Sections – up to thirteen Sections in one instance. At times, the Sections are simple repeats; but more commonly they are variants, sometimes repeating incipits and codas, but modifying what lies between; sometimes with substantially new beginnings but reverting at the end to material already expounded.

To take a single instance, the piece *Ōshōkun/ Wang Zhaojun* 王照君 consists of two Sections, both of which are repeated in sequence, making four Sections in all. What survives as *Ōshōkun* in the later Heian manuscripts is but a small part of the first of these Sections, modestly decorated, squared up, and modally changed.

Remembering that the Broaching of *Ryō-ō/Lanling wang* (p. 21) as preserved in the mouth-organ scores is unambiguously notated in a Mixolydian note-set on *D*, and consists of 16 measures of eight beats, with a principal drum-beat on the fifth beat of each measure, it is striking that a Chinese account,[7] while recording a shift in key from one *Shang*-mode to another – *Yue-diao* to *Dashi-diao* (both Mixolydian), also refers to one version as having 16 drum-beats. The same passage also mentions, however, a tripartite version with 24 drum-beats. Here is ample *evidence of variance in China* itself, as well as a demonstrable possible formal link between what survives in the Sino-Japanese sources and what once existed in China. I am indebted to Professor Liu Fengxue for drawing my attention to the entry relating to *Lanling wang* in *Biji manzhi* (1149):[7]

> Nowadays, the *Lanling wang* in *Yuediao* [a Mixolydian note-set on *C*, if *C* is *Huangzhong*: *C D E F G A B*♭] in all consists of three sections [*duan* 段], 24 drum-beats. Some say it is a traditional tune. This piece is in the wind-idiom of the *Fan Zhenggong diao*. The wind-idiom uses large *fanzi*, large *yizi*, and *gouzi* [note-symbols in *Gongche pu* notation], and is therefore also called *Da fan*. There is also a *Dashi-diao*, *Lanling-wang*, *Man* ['large-song'] [that is Mixolydian on *D*: *D E F*♯ *G A B C*♮, if *C*♮ is *Huangzhong*]. It is certainly not an old piece. At the time of the [Northern] Zhou and [Northern] Qi [dynasties], it did not exist. It is merely a *Manqu* [=a large song-piece], in two parts [each consisting of] 16 drum-beat [periods].
>
> 今越調蘭陵王凡三段二十四拍或曰遺聲也此曲聲犯正宮管色用大凡字大一字勾字故亦名大犯又有大石調蘭陵王慢殊非舊曲周齊之際未有前後十六拍慢曲子耳

Returning to *GGKF*, we may well suppose that its contents and their relationship to the later Heian tradition, and to what survives today, afford clues to the musical history of the *Tōgaku* tradition in Japan. It was essentially a borrowed, folk-song-like tradition, transmitted (in China) largely by ear and imitation, from teacher to pupil; in China, rarely committed to notation. A leading musician, with a good memory, could lead a group – as a Jazz-Group or Rock-Group is led today – in the performance of any current piece (p. 113); but such a performance would never be standard. The piece would never be performed in precisely the same way on two separate occasions, because of the practice of variance. There never was a *textus receptus*.

II *The musical character of the* Tōgaku *repertory*

While some will doubtless continue to be scandalised: by our revelation that the basic melodies of *Tōgaku* are preserved in the lowest notes (for the most part) of the mouth-organ chords, and by our contention that these same melodies originally moved eight to sixteen times more rapidly than they do today, in modern *Tōgaku* performance, Chinese readers will continue to be disappointed by the 'simplicity' of the melodies uncovered – melodies so different in style from the melodic lines of the *qin*-repertory, or of *Kunqu* 崑曲; but their traditional ensemble-music and scores are conspicuously similar to our transcriptions of *Tōgaku* items.

In their continuous crotchet/quarter-note movement (see *He Manzi*, Fascicle 4, p. 17), the pieces in GGKF appear at first sight (and but for their range) as archaic as the *Guofeng* 國風 and *Xiao ya* 小雅 melodies, preserved by Zhu Xi (L.E.R.P., 1956, 1957). Closer examination soon reveals, however, that a proportion of this apparent crotchet-movement is accounted for by broken octaves, or repeated notes. In melodic terms, these imply sustained minims/ half-notes for winds or voice; and the melodic line becomes one of half- and quarter-notes, with occasional shakes of various kinds. This description, as the informed reader will realise, is also valid: (1) for the melodic lines of Hakuga's score; (2) for the mouth-organ versions of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and (3) for Moronaga's zither- and lute-versions, if shakes and ligatures are stripped away. In terms of the style of melodic movement, the later Heian scores are of the same kind as pieces in *GGKF*. Our transcriptions are evidently scarcely altered variants of original Tang materials.

[7] Wang Zhuo 王灼, *Biji manzhi* 碧雞漫志 ('Random notes from Chengdu'), 4, pp. 26–7 Zengbu quyuan jinji 增補曲苑金集 edn. See bibliography for modern edn.

Chinese, dissatisfied with the song-melodies of Jiang Kui of the Song dynasty – melodies that utilise the same range of note-durations as those just described – will be no more content with our 'Tang Music' as representative of the Tang period than they are with the songs of Jiang Kui; but just as we in the West have come to appreciate the musical virtues, not merely of Plainsong and songs of the Troubadours, but also of the music of Léonin, Pérotin, and Machaut, so it is to be expected that the Chinese will in time come to appreciate and value the musical quality of Jiang Kui, of our Tang tunes, and (indeed) of the more archaic style of the twelve *Guofeng*-melodies.

The items from the *Ichikotsu-chō* modal group cover a range of musical styles, from the severity of the great suites – *Ō-dai hajin-raku*, *Toraden* and *Shunnō-den* – to the appealing, small-scale tunefulness of *Tori no kyū*, *Butokuraku*, *Koinju*, and *Sukoshi*, for example. Analysis shows, however, that these extremes are opposite ends of a stylistic continuum; that there is no fundamental difference of idiom between the two – as indeed the Preludes of *Tori* and *Koinju* reveal, combining (as they do) elements of both stylistic extremes.

Since there are, unquestionably, ethnomusicologists who will deplore our unabashed use of *etic*, 'scientific and objective', analytical methods, without reference to *emic* concepts (from within the culture), we should make plain that, while accepting the need to determine the nature of emic conceptions of the process of musical composition, we reject the notion that analysis from outside is either impertinent or irrelevant. The understanding of a music from outside our own culture requires both approaches; indeed, we regard it as nonsensical to abstain from using analytical tools capable of revealing, and quantifying, so much that a simple reading of a musical text as a whole cannot give. The reader will note, however, that we have considered comments, by Jiang Kui (later) and by authors cited in *YFSJ* (later) (both sources of the Song period), on personal and general procedures in the creation of songs, and that Jiang Kui's statement, in particular, is evidently compatible with our evidence for the pre-existence of musical formulae, present to the inner ear of any pre-Tang, Tang, or Song composer, a fund on which it was possible to draw in the assembling of a melody appropriate to any given lyric. Again, analysis has for the first time revealed, for Tang melodies, the nature – from the composer's point of view – of *Shang* modality (see p. 39), in the particular case of the *Shang* mode on *D* – *Ichikotsu-chō/ Yiyue diao.* No Chinese musician, not even Jiang Kui, has ever spelled out the practical dynamics of the Mixolydian note-set, distinguished as the *Shang diao* in various keys. These are facts, relating to the meaning of mode (*diao*) in practice, that could only have been determined by etic analysis.

Furthermore, there is explicit evidence, from the writings of both Japanese and Chinese, that no conscious, verbalised conception of a structured method of musical composition exists: 'It is entirely natural that a music born of a mystical conception of music, should after all have a purely melodic, improvisatory, unstructured character.'[8] It is not 'natural' at all; but this notion of melody as an essentially unstructured entity betrays a complete absence of conscious insight into the process of musical composition, or improvisation, within a particular cultural setting. The process of integrating elements, in the construction of a melodic statement, is 'natural' to these musicians only because it is inaccessible to conscious ratiocination. In the Chinese context, the remarks of Wang Sengqian, and of Jiang Kui, at least reveal awareness of the priority of song-text, and a later choice of note-settings, as an embellishment of verbal expression. Neither in China nor in Japan, however, are there any verbalised clues as to the procedure adopted by the composer, when constructing a purely instrumental piece. Any clues we may have, as to the nature of that process, are only given by our etic analysis of the music itself (N.J.N.: Fascicles 2–5).

The observations of Wang Sengqian 王僧虔 are to be found in *YFSJ* (26, p. 376).[9] This author lived from 426 until 485, some 500 years before Jiang Kui's time: 'Nowadays, it is first lyric and afterwards tune. The lyric describes the facts; the tune completes their embellishment. A song has to be designed so that the intention is fulfilled in the lyric; the tune is fulfilled by the piece in its entirety' 當時先詩而後聲、詩敍事、聲成文、必使志盡於詩、音盡於曲。

Jiang Kui's own comment on the creative process (Picken, 1966, p. 146) runs as follows: 'I much enjoy making songs myself. First, following the ideas, I make the long and short [text-] phrases. Afterwards I unite them with the pitches. In consequence, first and last pieces [stanzas] are very different [in line- and phrase-structure].' 予頗喜自製曲、初率意爲長短句、然後協以律、故前後闋多不同。

Regarding mensural and rhythmic aspects of Tang music, it is of great importance that the scores of *Tōgaku* are meticulously segmented into binary units, in a manner unknown to any surviving Chinese notation. It appears to us probable that the (–)-sign, referred to by Hakuga as '*ichi*', is no numeral, but rather the equivalent of the punctuation-sign that marks the ends of text-lines in later, printed, Chinese song-texts. No earlier Chinese use of this (–)-sign than *Qing*-texts is known; but the absence of notated song-texts, with rhymes marked, from any earlier period does not exclude possible use, by Chinese musicians, of such a sign, at an earlier date. In Chinese, the sign has no name; a Chinese can only describe it by its function; and the fact that Hakuga could only refer to it as a numeral – which it is not, since the manuscripts *never* show it written as a differentiated, horizontal brush-stroke, in the manner of the numeral 'one', when properly written – may mean that it was a feature adopted

[8] Eishi Kikkawa: *Nihon ongaku no seikaku* 日本音樂の性格 Tokyo 1979, p. 73 Ongaku no tomo sha Corp.; 神秘的な音樂觀から生まれる樂は、結局、單旋律主義の、即興的、非構造的性格のものであるのが當然である。

A Western musicologist may well pause to consider whether communication with the mind disclosed by this sentence is possible; and, if possible, is the effort of communication likely to prove profitable? See also Eishi Kikkawa: *Vom Character der japanischen Musik*, Bärenreiter 1984, p. 64.

[9] Guo Maoqing 郭茂倩 (*ca* 1127) *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集

from Chinese practice, but misinterpreted by Hakuga. Its use makes certain that we are, for the most part, concerned with *measured* music. Such music is profoundly different from the modern arhythmic manner of *qin*-performance, or its performance with constant change in measure-length, commonly to be heard today. In our view, this *senza misura, tempo rubato* style of playing the *qin* is the result of progressive suppression of music in dance-rhythms, in the homes of the scholar-gentry, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – the milieu in which the *qin* and its repertory were cultivated. As pointed out on a previous occasion (L.E.R.P., 1969, p. 617), the earliest, substantial, printed collection of tablatures for 7-stringed zither appears to retain a proportion of measured items, in bars of 8 or 4 beats.

(It should at all times be remembered, however, that there is, and always was, a genre of Chinese folk song, the music of which is almost unknown, the genre of 'Mountain Songs' *Shan'ge* 山歌. While texts of these (frequently erotic) songs have been collected and published in recent years, their music remains almost entirely unknown, presumably because of the difficulty of notating what are frequently rhapsodic, unmeasured, arhythmic, melodic lines – unless the listener and scribe is a Bartók – without the assistance of recording apparatus, and without substantial experience in precise transcription into staff-notation. Specimens are to be seen in *Folk-songs of China*[10]; but these are insufficient as yet for any general account of *Shan'ge*-structure. Mention of this genre is *not* made to encourage the idea that *qin*-performance has come under the influence of such mountain-songs, but only to establish the fact that, like *Jubilus* and *Alleluia*, together with the archaic mountain-calls of Europe and elsewhere, China too retains a musical practice that is certainly pre-notational. It may even mark the existence of pre-mensural song in general if, as we suspect, the forging of the great equal-note, unison hymns in march-rhythms, marked an immense step forward in musical culture, in the control of the substance of music in Shang and Zhou times.)

For us, it is now apparent, that we have uncovered a representative portion of 'Music from the Tang Court'. Indeed, even were the scrolls, brought back from China, according to report, by Fujiwara no Sadatoshi in 841 (p. 124), suddenly revealed to us complete, it is doubtful whether they would tell us much that would be new. They could, of course, reveal (as does *GGKF*) the lengthy original versions of pieces, before they achieved a measure of standardisation and abbreviation, with frequent performance and, above all, by translation from one instrument to another, and into *notation*, for the benefit of noble performers, performers able to *read*, but probably not able to undertake instinctive improvisation, such as (it may be supposed) both Chinese and Korean professional musicians were capable of, in Japan, in the Nara and early Heian periods.

But if the items in the repertory were standardised and trimmed in course of time, there is no reason to suppose that the basic melodies were changed stylistically. Indeed, it is evident on comparing *Tempyō biwa-fu*, *FBBF* and Moronaga's version of *FBBF*; or *GGKF* and the late Heian and early Kamakura versions of *its* contents, that the style is essentially unchanged.

This conclusion: that we have indeed reached the original melodic core of a sample of Tang Music, places us beyond the range of those who, in the recent past, sought to impede our work by denying access to sources other than those copied in 1972. The essential materials have been in our hands since that year.

There remains a further step that we can now take, a step backwards in time through that which the manuscripts preserve. It is already apparent (Fascicle 3, p. 17, p. 52) that the musical forms associated with certain song-texts (*ei* 詠; *saezuri* 囀), preserved in Sino-Japanese sources but no longer performed, are precisely twice as long as required, if the lyric was to be sung, in general, one lexigraph (one *kanji/Han zi* 漢字) to one note, as in the manner of songs of the Song 宋 and (to some extent) of the Yuan 元 dynasties. This implies that the musical volume of such a piece has been inflated, in the course of time, by the incorporation of glosses. The process is overwhelmingly demonstrated in action in China, over the centuries, when printed books of zither-tablatures, from the early fifteenth-century onwards, are compared (Picken, 1957, pp. 117–9). It is also demonstrably at work in the generation of variants of popular instrumental melodies, such as *Lao liu ban* and *Lao ba ban*.[11]

Since the early '70s, it has been evident to us, that in today's performance-practice, the original Tang melody – preserved today in its least decorated condition in the mouth-organ tablature, but also present both in *gaku-biwa* and *gaku-sō* versions as notated – functions as a *canto fermo* (or *cantus firmus*) in the ancient sense of this term as the 'plain song', as opposed to *canto figurato*, the 'florid' or 'figured song'. In this primary sense, the term *canto fermo* means an unadorned, ancient melody. The fact, that such a *canto fermo* (as applied to ancient liturgical melodies in the West) came to be used as a basis for contrapuntal compositions for several voices, is not implicit in its primary meaning, and has no bearing on our application of the term to the primary melodic materials of the *Tōgaku*-repertory. It is furthermore evident that, in relation to the Tang-derived *canto fermo*, the variations provided by the versions for flute and *hichiriki* are *canti figurati*. They have arisen as elaborate variations on ancient tunes, originally minimally embellished. These variant versions have been generated by the largely systematic and formulaic application to such melodies of all the standard, universally recognised types of melodic, decorative procedures: by the introduction of appoggiaturas, passing notes, anticipations, auxiliaries, and échappés. Indeed, the acculturated surface of *Tōgaku*-performance today is furnished by two types of *canti figurati*, appropriate to the compass and properties of flute and

[10] *Zhongguo minge* 中國民歌 (1959) *Zhongguo yinyue yanjiu bian*, Yinyue chuban she.

[11] Lai Chunyue (1979); Thrasher, Alan R. (1985)

hichiriki, not merely floridly decorated, but modally transformed, in accordance with the musical taste of the Edo region of Japan.

Where song-texts for Tang pieces survive we can, as shown for 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' and 'The Eddying Bowl' (Fascicle 3, p. 19; p. 52), recover the original melodic line by stripping away appoggiaturas and other decorative elements. It is the tendency for one note to be decorated, and thus become two, that accounts for inflation of such pieces to twice the original length compatible with the song-text. In the light of such decorative dilatation, it now becomes reasonable to look at the entire repertory of Tang *canti fermi*, preserved in the mouth-organ tablatures, in search of minimal musical forms; for we may take it as a well-established principle in Chinese music that all music tends to inflate with time. This will apply also to the *senza misura, tempo giusto* Preludes – the least stable of all forms inherited by the Japanese court-musicians from Tang China (see Fascicles 3, p. 34; 4, p. 4, p. 76). The constancy in total numbers of drum-beat periods in such Preludes does not imply constancy in melodic content between versions. We observe reduplicative and variational procedures operative, in the shaping of formulae within the periods, and surely have the right to consider imaginative reductions; we observe variation between versions, in the number of repeats of the common cadential formula: a fall by a tone to the modal final, for example, and are surely justified in regarding such variability as a sign of primary indeterminacy, a signal that a musical gesture was once open to improvisatory manipulation.

Attention has already been drawn to the constancy, over the centuries, in numbers of drum-beats in movements of a Large Piece from the *qin*-repertory (Fascicle *2*, p. 100); and similar considerations invite inspection of the most ancient movements (recorded in *qin*-tablature) of *Guangling san* itself (the piece in question), in search of underlying primary material. Certainly we can now begin to ask: what may have been the minimal structure, in terms of musical content, of Preludes to the great suites in *Ichikotsu-chō*?

It surprises us that critics fail to see the links between the melodic lines of *Ō-dai hajin-raku* and those of the ritual hymns and secular songs of Jiang Kui, composed during the Song dynasty. Both these genres share with the 25 or so conflated melodies of *Tōgaku*-items from the *Ichikotsu-chō* group, a marked tendency towards conjunct movement in equal notes, even though note-durations in the ratio of $1:\frac{1}{2}:\frac{1}{4}$ are to be found both in *Tōgaku*-items and in Jiang Kui's secular songs. In both genres, half-notes/minims tend to occur in terminal position in musical lines, thus corresponding (in song-melodies) to the position of rhyming, monosyllabic words; but notes of this duration may also occur initially and medially in the musical line. Although conjunct movement is so frequent, movement by leap through any diatonic interval is permitted, and even broken-triadic movement is not excluded.

As shown by N.J.N., pieces in the *Ichikotsu-chō* group share a modal characteristic (1988, pp. 63–4) with ritual melodies, supposedly of the eighth-century, for lyrics from *The Book of Songs*. This is: that as with Zhu Xi's *Wuyi qingshang* 無射清商 tunes, the melodic functions of notes in the note-set are never those to be expected in a *Shang*/Mixolydian mode. The third (mediant) and sixth (sub-mediant) of the heptatonic, Mixolydian set do not behave as auxiliaries, as they should, since they are the sharpened fourth (=sharpened sub-dominant), and seventh (=sub-final) of the basic *Gong*/Lydian note-set. On the contrary, melodies in *Ichikotsu-chō* behave as in a Lydian mode on *D*, with changed auxiliaries: natural fourth and flattened seventh. The third and the sixth both function as cadences, as line-finals – as they would in a *Gong* pentatonic mode. It is only in the latter part of extended *Tōgaku*-movements in *Ichikotsu-cho*, where (as shown by N.J.N.) exploration of other modal aspects of the note-set occurs, that notes of the pentatonic *Shang*-set are observed to function as cadence-notes: second, fourth, and seventh degrees. It is evident that, all modal theory notwithstanding, the pull of 123.56-modality continued to operate powerfully, even in pieces ostensibly in a *Shang*-mode. From N.J.N.'s conflations and analyses it is clear that an excursion from quasi-123.56 modality towards quasi-23.56.1 modality occurs not infrequently, even in relatively short pieces in the group, followed by return to the 123.56-aspect of modality.

Many – indeed, a majority, and perhaps *all* – of the smaller Tang-Music items will have originated as song-melodies; but it is certain that, already in China, new melodies were composed for pre-existing titles – as apparently occurred in the case of *He Manzi*, for which very different versions exist in *GGKF* and the sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respectively (Fascicle 4, pp. 10–26). From Jiang Kui's account of his own method of composing songs (p. 111), as well as from the summary statements in *YFSJ* (preface to Ch. 26) (see p. 111) it is known that text preceded music; and given the close dependence of semantic rhythm on text, it is certain that Chinese song-melodies were powerfully shaped by text-line structures. But where new tunes for old titles were invented, it is possible (in some instances certain) that any shaping of music by an original text was no longer operative. Perhaps, for this reason, a proportion of Tang-Music items do not correspond – in numbers of measures, for example – to poems of the same title.

For us, largely chained to the use of notation, it is difficult to imagine how, given the existence of a widely known, common vocabulary, or thesaurus, of musical formulae, group-improvisation could lead to the creation of pieces, such as the items that emerge, as *canti fermi*, from the transcription of the earliest surviving *Tōgaku*-scores. Nevertheless, there exist parallels that go far to enabling us to imagine how such a process can occur in practice. Always before us is the analogous process of creation of the Plainsong-repertory; and today one has only to listen to articulate members of any Rock Group explaining, for the benefit of musical youngsters, how to go about the process of composition without benefit of notation, or to observe their abilities to pick up a musical idea, one from another, or to respond to an improvisatory suggestion, to realise that the musical consciousness of

the group is capable of split-second responses, not mediated by any verbalised formulation or communication. Such responses make possible a degree of co-ordination unimaginable to the theoretician. (The same kind of creative empathy is characteristic of any good Jazz Group also, of course.)

A musical culture in which the use of melodic fragments (of the dimensions of the formulae of Tang Music, discriminated by N.J.N., rather than developed melodies) is conspicuous, is that of the fiddlers and bagpipers of the Eastern Black-Sea coast.[12] This is a culture wholly uninfluenced by the restraints of notation, or by conscious concepts of modality, either melodic or rhythmic, and where the solo-music generated is performed at speeds such that the frequency of repeated muscle-movements is at the limit of possible repetition set by the properties of the muscles and of the nervous system; where speed is such that there is literally not time enough for any thought-out control of the fingers, and hence of the details of high-speed decoration. Yet a good fiddler generates the accompaniment for a dance that consists of alternating phases, usually in high-speed irregular 'Bulgarian' rhythms, on every occasion created anew from motifs in the local repertory, freely varied by recognisably standard variational procedures, freely repeated in response to the demands of the dance, and of the occasion.

Beyond question the fabrication of Tang-Music tunes required a further concept in the minds of their creators: that of a defined structure, limited in time, consisting of musical lines of defined length, moving from initiation to cadences within a formal mould, delimited by functional relationships between final and other permitted cadence-notes. Nevertheless, the importance of the store of melodic formulae in the creation of such tunes was crucial for their construction.

It must not be supposed that composers in the West, or indeed anywhere else, have been wholly independent of the body of melodic motifs enshrined in their own folk and urban popular musics. They have always been equally dependent on that source; but with time the emphasis on individual creativity has become stressed to a degree unimaginable in the East-Asian environment.

If we are convinced that the *shō*-melodies, and the decorated versions of these in zither- and lute-versions, are the original melodic stock of *Tōgaku*, closely related to that which was received by Fujiwara no Sadatoshi on the Mission of 838, it is in part because no one else has ever thought of such a thing. Nothing is more effectively protected from well-intentioned improvement than that the very existence of which is unsuspected.

III *The process of acculturation*

There is no reason to suppose that any degree of 'acculturation' in the sense of profound, stylistic modification of the Tang-Music repertory occurred in Japan up to the end of the Heian period; and possibly the features that now strike us as conspicuously non-Chinese did not appear until very much later. Acculturation of a less traumatic kind occurred, however, in the reduction in kinds and numbers of instruments employed between Nara and Heian times; in the selection and rejection of items from the original, total, borrowed repertory, so that, by the twelfth century, items of Tang Music recorded as performed (*KKCMJ*) amount to 40 only, as opposed to 108 in *JCYR* and *SGYR*.

Decoration of flute-versions by the incorporation of standard melodic formulae (Marett, 1985) had become conspicuous by the end of the thirteenth century; and by the beginning of the fourteenth century, flute-versions were almost as floridly decorated (but still, in modality, Chinese, so far as the tablatures show) as they are today. Whether they were also modally modified in performance-practice, as in today's performance, is not known. *Hichiriki*-versions that, in citations in Moronaga's collectanea, appear in his time to have been comparable with Hakuga's flute-versions, are floridly decorated by the date of what is presently the earliest dated *hichiriki*-score, the *Nakahara rosei-shō* 中原芦声抄 (1346).[13]

Acculturation in the sense of modal modification also occurred in Japan; but it is to be remembered that this also took place in respect of various items in the Chinese repertory in China. Jiang Kui noted the original *Dao-diao* 道調 modality of 'Rainbow Skirts' (Picken, 1966, p. 143), as reported by Shen Gua, in the light of the notation seen by him, and referred to in his *Mengqi bitan* (1086) (5, 11b). If the pitch *Huangzhong* was *C*, the *Dao-diao* note-set (Lydian on *F*) was *F G A B♮ C D E* (Picken, 1969, p. 98). The version that Jiang Kui came upon in 1186 was in a *Shang*-mode, a Mixolydian note-set on *C*: *C D E F G A B♭* (Picken, 1966, p. 143). Again, a change in modality seems to have occurred in *Ōshōkun/ Wang Zhaojun* between *GGKF* and the twelfth-century tablatures. The late Professor Ye Dong 叶栋, in a private communication, suggested that the 'major' version of *GGKF* (with sharpened third) corresponds to the 'cheerful' versions of the Wang Zhaojun legend, memory of which seems to have vanished when the predominantly 'sad' version became widely known, and accepted, in later Tang and Song times. The melody, as it survives in the Meiji mouth-organ scores, is of mixed modality, switching between Dorian and Mixolydian on E; but this is in no way singular within the manuscript tradition (p. 109). We do not know at what date the tendency to convert the glossed, decorative, melodic lines of flute and *hichiriki* to hemitonic, pentatonic scalar forms, rather than anhemitonic, pentatonic, or hexatonic or heptatonic forms, first occurred; but it may be very late indeed. One recalls the work of Hirano and Mabuchi,[14] pursuing the evolution of *Rokudan* in the *zoku-koto* tradition, now largely in the hemitonic pentatonic genus, from Chinese-style anhemitonic,

[12] Picken (1954) p. 80; (1975) pp. 312, 546.

[13] Known from an Edo copy. See Fukushima Kazuo and Steven G. Nelson (1983) *Descriptive Catalogue of the Eighth Exhibition* "Musical Notations of Japan" Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno Gakuen College, Item 12, pp. 3, 37, 38. (A.J.M.)

[14] "Rokudan" – koto instrumental music, 1978, Toshiba (p. 129)

pentatonic originals. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the mouth-organ versions – versions for an instrument on which tablature-signs have fixed pitch-significance – show no trace, even today, of such modal acculturation as afflicts *ryūteki*- and *hichiriki*-versions.

If 'significant and Japanese conceptualized alteration' of any of the early manuscript sources has occurred, one would have to suppose such alteration to antedate all surviving manuscripts, beginning (1) with the eighth-century fragment of a modal prelude in *Ōshiki-chō*, and including (2) the manuscript for 5-stringed lute *GGKF*; the manuscript (3) for 4-stringed lute of 838 which survives in a copy of 921–2 (*FBBF*); the manuscript (4) for flute, surviving in eighteenth-century copies of an eleventh-century copy of the original of 966 (*SSGF* or *Hakuga*); as well as all later manuscripts. The term 'acculturation' is normally (surely) applied to a continuous and cumulative process of modification and adaptation; but the *manuscript*-tradition of *Tōgaku* itself reveals no evidence of continuous modification of the primary materials; on the contrary, the essential stability of the primary material, and the faithfulness in its copying by successive generations of scribes are profoundly impressive. Of course a majority of Japanese are quite unaware of the gulf between the notations for strings and mouth-organ, on the one hand, and those for flute and *hichiriki* on the other, or of the fact that the characteristic melodic surface of *Kangen*-performance is generated by performance-practice and does not reside in the specifications of flute- and *hichiriki-tablatures*. Not until the Meiji period were the notations of the zither-versions simplified, and their tunings modified, in accordance with a simplification in technique; and it is well possible that it was not until the Edo period that hemitonic pentatonic modality effectively modified performance of flute- and *hichiriki*-versions.

Finally, it is the case, that the melodic lines revealed by transcription of the manuscript sources, from the earliest times to the thirteenth century, are not those of any known Japanese music, of any period. As Professor Mabuchi Usaburō said in 1972, listening to a tape of our transcription of *Shukōshi/Jiu Huzi* from the mouth-organ tablature: 'That is not a Japanese tune' (Fascicle 1, p. 7).

Our critics, of course, have not enjoyed the privilege of reading the entire body of Tang-Music items, in all modes, in transcription – *SGYR* alone amounts to 300 sheets of music-manuscript paper. As we continue to publish, it is believed that even hostile and doubting critics will come to be persuaded of the facts. No one could have approached the body of *Tōgaku*-manuscripts with more scepticism than did L.E.R.P., thirty years ago. Listening to recorded performances of *Tōgaku* items had led to the conviction, shared (in general) by Chinese musicians, that no audible trace, of any Chinese music that ever was, survives. We have now shown *why* this is so, even though the early manuscript sources are plainly *not* Japanese music; nor are they (for that matter) any kind of Korean music of which any trace survives in Korea today. Nevertheless, the original, or but slightly modified, Tang melodies are being sounded in every *Kangen*-performance today; they have merely been rendered inaudible.

IV *Value-judgements based on 'anecdotal history', on assessments of literary quality, and on pseudo-historical expressions of opinion*

In making use of the '"Music" (=*Yue*) of Ritual' chapters in *Dainihon-shi*,[15] as we (and some of our critics) do, it must be remembered that this 'history', compiled between 1810 and 1851, belongs to the old East-Asian tradition of historiography (p. 33); it is not history as the West understands that term – certainly not in the sense in which Thucydides understood it, or that in which Edward Gibbon in the eighteenth, or Mommsen in the nineteenth century, understood the term. It is a compilation of assertions and allegations, unsupported by precise documentation. In the case of the *Reigaku/Liyue* 禮樂 chapters, 14 and 15 are devoted to 'Music Pieces' (*Gakukyoku* 樂曲 一.二 (pp. 211–46, for Music of the Left).[16] Observations relating to the structure of *Ōdai hajinraku* (pp. 215–6) are given authority by citing the *titles* of certain handbooks: *KKS*, *ZKKS*, *JCYR*, for example. One of our reviewers asserts that the editor-in-chief, Tokugawa no Mitsukuni, 'quotes episodes' from *KKS* and *JCYR*. There are no quotations from either of these sources, however; they are merely cited by title as authority for statements made. The reviewer alleges that *DNHS* describes 'how Fujiwara no Morokuzu. . .revised *Ō-dai hajin-raku*.' Curiously, the reviewer seems unaware of, or indifferent to, the fact that the complete *JCYR* preface to *Ōdai* is printed in original in Fascicle 1, pp. 37–8. The lexigraph used to define the process is indeed (as stated by the reviewer) *tei/ding* 定: 'to decide, establish, determine'. There is no use of *kai/gai* 改 (as stated by the reviewer) 'to change, modify, rectify, amend' in *JCYR*; nor indeed is this verb used in *KKS* (2, p. 31, 2) or in *ZKKS* (1, p. 3ff). Furthermore, *JCYR*, *KKS*, and *ZKKS* state precisely what Chūnagon Morokuzu did: he fixed the position of the Half-Section of the Prelude at the sixteenth drum-beat period, in a movement consisting of a single Section of thirty periods. And of course *JCYR*, *KKS* and *ZKKS* make plain *why* it was necessary to do so, even though it was known that the Prelude originally consisted of forty periods.

Nevertheless, our critic uses this passage in *DNHS* to suggest a possible 'significant and Japanese conceptualized alteration of the original manuscript.' This appeal to a text of 1810–51, rather than giving weight to a text of the twelfth century (*JCYR*), is typical of the improper use of documents in an ahistoric tradition; and on this appeal is based, in part, an attempt to raise doubts as to the validity of *our* claim: that the *versions* of the earliest manuscripts (as opposed to modern performance-practice) are relics of music from the Tang court. Strikingly, the editors of *DNHS* themselves fell into error in reading, without comprehension, what *JCYR*, and *KKS*, and *ZKKS*, state. According to *DNHS*: 'By Imperial Decree of Emperor Nimmyō, the *Chūnagon* Fujiwara no Morokuzu established the Prelude as one Section of 30 drum-beat [periods], and the Broaching as six Sections, each of 20 drum-beat [periods].' 仁明帝敕二中納言藤原諸葛一定二序一帖三十拍、破六帖各二十拍一、

[15] 大日本史 347, 禮樂十四 (14) pp. 211–31; 348 (15) pp. 227–46

[16] Music of the Right (*Komagaku*) occupies pp. 246–53

The Sino-Japanese *kambun/Han wen* 漢文 text shows the numerals, used to indicate inversions that involve more than two lexigraphs. From their placing, it is certain that the "object"-supplement of the verb *tei/ding* 定 ('to establish') is all that follows 定二 down to *hyō* 拍一.) As a statement of what Morokuzu did the passage is inaccurate – as anyone can see who looks at Fascicle 1, p. 37, and *KKS* 2, p. 32. *KKS* is also very careful to state: 'It is said that Awata no Michimaro transmitted *Hajin-raku/ Pozhen yue.*' But (alas for our critic!) *KKS* immediately questions this statement; *DNHS* states flatly that *it* – that is, not some *Pozhen-yue* piece, but *Ō-dai* itself – was transmitted to Japan by Awata no Michimaro 'in the time of [the 42nd Mikado] Mommu [697–707].' Here again the editors of *DNHS* fail to respect the precision of *KKS*; they reduce what was precise in the original sources to the level of an imprecise anecdote.

The statement unsupported by evidence is a principal device of certain critics; and we shall continue to draw attention to this inadequacy until it is appreciated that, if they are to receive attention, statements have to be backed by proper references. It is to be regretted that some persist in the old style of argument by unsupported statement, long after the best Chinese and Japanese scholars have adopted a more scientific approach to historiography and the rules of evidential discussion.

One comment, implying that had we reproduced all the manuscript tablatures, transcribed in Fascicle 1, in facsimile, cross-checking would have afforded more satisfactory confirmation of "the heterophonic character of the parts" seems to throw doubt on our competence as transcribers. Collectively, three of us have now been engaged in reading not merely the tablatures, but also all prefaces and glosses, for a minimal total of 50 years; one of us has transcribed *SGYR* twice in its entirety; one of us has transcribed, complete, both *KF/HSF* and *SSSTF*; and we can all read all tablatures used for the five melodic instruments. We doubt that a reviewer would retrieve more from the manuscripts than we have.

Another reviewer has used the supposedly non-Chinese character of the term, translated by us as 'Processional' (*Yusei/ Yousheng* 逆聲), as support for a loose attack on our position, accepting (as we do) the Tang-Chinese character of the suite that survives as *Ō-dai hajin-raku* (Fascicle 1, 1981). Unfortunately for the reviewer, as reported elsewhere in this fascicle (p. 126), Professor Kishibe Shigeo has found the term in current use in China, and in musical documents of the Qing dynasty; in this present fascicle Mr Stephen Jones contributes a note on this matter in Appendix 5 (p. 127). The unfamiliarity of the term to a reviewer of today was no evidence of Japanese invention.

It is a necessary, though embarrassing, duty to insist on the greater depth and width of *our* knowledge of the *content of the manuscript sources of Tang Music in tablature*, as compared with that of any Japanese, not excluding the best-known authorities of the modern period. The extraordinary position adopted by certain critics is: that musical scholarship does not demand ability to read and transcribe the documents; that there is no need to understand them as *music*. The 'scholarship' of such persons resides wholly in the manipulation of points relevant to extra-musical aspects. In general, they do not recognise that the music itself has anything to say about its own history.

One of our reviewers, failing to read to its end a single sentence by the late Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 (1974, p. 25), alleges that 'in the later years of his research life' he held that *Tōgaku* music was an "imitation of Tang music made in Japan". Alas! The phrase in double quotation marks is part of a parenthesis in the said sentence. Hayashi is attempting to explain the significance of the title of a short manuscript[18] listing *Tōgaku* pieces under mode-key headings, and at times adding brief notes on provenance and history. While the title might be construed as 'the origins of music', its significance is rather different, as Hayashi states: 'Regarding the significance of [the title] "The origins of music", here it seems to indicate the origins of what is called Tang Music – including imitations of Tang Music made in Japan.'[19]

His careful use of the phrase: 'what is called Tang Music' – it is not 'so-called' in the pejorative sense – is not there to throw doubt on the validity of the view that *Tōgaku* derived immediately from music performed at the Tang Court, but rather to emphasise that the compiler of the manuscript was perfectly aware that the *region of provenance* of *Tōgaku* pieces was geographically far wider than 'Tang', in the narrow sense of China during the rule of that dynasty. In the next paragraph, indeed, he sets out the various areas of provenance named *in this manuscript*. '(1) China (also known as 'The Great Country' *Daikoku/Daguo* 大國) and Kudara [an ancient Korean kingdom] tributary to the Tang; (2) India [South Asia] as well as *Rin'yu*, and Sogdiana (*Kokoku/ Huguo* 胡國); (3) in Japan, separately, the makers and transmitters are recorded, and the views expressed in *KKS* and *ZKKS* are appended.'[20]

Of course, Professor Hayashi was already familiar with our work, some years before his death; indeed, one of us (L.E.R.P.) was privileged to visit and talk with him (through an interpreter) already in 1972, two years before he published this summary of the various regions of origin of the repertory, in so far as these are listed in this manuscript. His words, inadequately translated, cannot be used as a stick with which to beat us.

Contributory to this notion of Japanese 'creation' of the *Tōgaku*-repertory is a general misunderstanding of the force of the various Sino-Japanese verbs 'to make' or 'to do'. Such verbs, in an East-Asian context, rarely (if ever) mean the individual act of creation, *ab initio, ex nihilo*, which has come to be regarded as the function of 'the composer' in the West. The many, and various, contexts in which such verbs are used makes plain that, in general, they may mean no more

[18] *Ongaku kongen shō* 音樂根源鈔

[19] 音樂根源の意味は、ここでは所謂唐樂ー日本製の仿唐樂等を含めてーの源流を指しているらしい。(仿＝倣)

[20] (一) 中國ー大國、大唐(付)百済、(二) 天竺及び林邑・胡國、(三) 日本に分けて、これに作者、伝承者等を記し、教訓抄(または續教訓抄) 等の説を付記することにした。

than a creative revision, or arrangement, for a particular occasion. Such a *revision* may be mentioned, if undertaken by a person of distinction (Fascicle 4, p. 108), whereas an act of *composition* (in our sense) is passed over in silence – as in the composition of the *Ha/Po* of *Katen/Hedian* (Fascicle 3, p. 20). With regard to the views of Tanabe Hisao 田辺尚雄 on 'musical changes according to Japanese forms and styles'[21] it is necessary to emphasize Tanabe's apparent personal remoteness from the sources on which he expressed views. There is no evidence in the writings of Tanabe that he had ever faced the problems of transcription, and he was probably unaware of the contrast between the melodic surface of *Tōgaku*, as performed today, and the content of the manuscript-sources, transformed, in the case of *teki* and *hichiriki*, by performance-practice. Hirano Kenji's suggestion, made in 1977,[22] that post-ninth-century Japanese 'creation on the model of foreign forms, such as in the case of *Etenraku*, represents the process of digestion of Chinese music', was made (of course) without knowledge of the basic melody of *Etenraku* (p. 120), still preserved, to the present, in the mouth-organ versions. It is a statement typical of the readiness of some to generalise in ignorance of the musical content of sources, known to them only as objects of antiquarian interest, to be prized for their age alone.

Of course, should Hirano mean no more than that the overt *Etenraku*-melody in *Hyōjō* (perhaps the only *Tōgaku*-item identifiable by ear to a majority of Japanese) is a product of decorative transformation in Japan, his statement would be acceptable. What must be recognised – and generally speaking still is not – is the fact that mouth-organ, lute, and (to an appreciable extent) zither, retain, even in their Meiji notations, so much of the original Tang melodies that, even in the absence of manuscripts of the eighth to thirteenth centuries, their presence might well have been detected, and their characteristics analysed, by the Japanese themselves, but for a regrettable tendency, re-inforced by contact with the West, to reject the simpler melodic lines of the *canti fermi* of the medieval period (preserved by *shō*, *gaku-sō*, and *gaku-biwa*) as aesthetically of lesser value than the surface provided by flute and *hichiriki*; and, in general, a tendency to esteem the performing-tradition of *Tōgaku* as of far greater importance than any manuscript-survivals. To the musical fact of the distinctiveness, and foreignness, of Tang Music in the Japanese environment witness is borne, to this day, in the *musical* distinctiveness of *Tōgaku*-performance, both as *Kangen* and as *Bugaku*. Even a musically inexperienced listener is unlikely to confuse a *Tōgaku*-performance with that of any other genre of Japanese court music, not even with *Komagaku*, so distinctive are the different cyclical, colotomic patterns of percussion in the two genres. That is to say, the entirely Japanese, decorative elaboration of the melodic surface of *Tōgaku* in performance, because of its dependence on a distinctive, non-Japanese, melodic substrate, does not succeed in entirely obliterating some of the properties of the original *canto fermo*.

The notion, put forward by one critic, that transmutation of the *Tōgaku*-repertory in Japan is 'evident in the tablature facsimiles presented' in Fascicle 1, is mistaken. The critic goes on to base this statement on wholly unjustified assumptions regarding the level of Japanese competence in literary composition and writing in the Chinese language.

History affords relatively few instances of Japanese who *wrote* good, Chinese *prose*. Some achieved a certain standard of elegance in their imitations of Chinese *verse*, even to the extent of gaining the approval of Chinese friends – as did Abe no Nakamaro 阿倍仲麻呂 (Chao Heng 朝衡) in the eighth century. Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師), and some other Buddhists, wrote prose acceptable within their genres; and in the modern period the distinguished Sinologists, Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎 and Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, may be regarded as respectable; but a romantic vision of a Nara, or early Heian, period of excellence in Chinese is an illusion.

Accepting, as the end of the Nara period and the beginning of the Early Heian period (794–897) the date of the Imperial Command of Emperor Kammu 桓武, given in 793, that a new capital be built, the future *Heian Kyō* 平安京, it is certain that knowledge of Chinese, the ability to speak and write the language, was prevalent among the nobility and officials throughout the Nara period and at the beginning of the Heian. The language was used for all official documents and for literary purposes, but (as Ivan Morris indicated, 1964, p. 24)[23] this written Sino-Japanese corresponded 'to the rather debased version of Latin that was current in the West.' From the end of the ninth century onwards, there was a further deterioration. Among the Tang poets, for example, Japanese taste favoured Bai Juyi (who wrote the simplest possible Chinese verse), while the great Tang poets – Li Bai 李白 and Du Fu 杜甫, for example – were neglected. By the time of Lady Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部, born towards the end of the tenth century, Chinese in Japan was effectively a dead language. 'The Chinese classics occupied much the same role in Heian education as did Greek literature in ancient Rome, or, until quite recently, Latin literature in England' (Morris, *ibid.*, p. 184). But at this time, the Imperial University still provided for Confucian studies, and the ninth-century book-catalogue: *Nihon-koku genzaisho mokuroku* (Fascicle 3, p. 8) includes more than 1500 Chinese titles.

What the standard of accomplishment in Chinese versification amounted to among the Court at large, in Lady Murasaki's day, is suggested by her in the course of the famous 'Flower Banquet' Chapter.[24] Both nobles and professional composers of Chinese verse participate. The latter are referred to, significantly, as 'professor' *hakase/boshi* 博士. Professors served in two of the Eight Ministries: in the *Onyō/Yinyang* 陰陽 bureau of the *Nakatsukasa-shō* 中務省, but more conspicuously in the *Daigaku/Daxue* 大学 bureau of the *Shikibu-shō* 式部省, the Imperial University, with four faculties, each with a professor-in-chief, including one of

[21] Tanabe Hisao (1956)

[22] Hirano Kenji 平野健次 (1977) p. 27

[23] *The World of the Shining Prince*

[24] *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, 8

Chinese classics (*Myōgyō/Mingjing* 明經). There were also Professors of Literature (*Monshō hakase/ Wenzhang boshi* 文章博士). Lady Murasaki does not state to which bureau the *hakase* at the Flower Banquet were attached, but the possibilities are evident. What she makes clear is that, ill at ease and uncouth though the professors were judged to be, they were, when all was said and done, the experts when it came to writing Chinese verse. The highest commendation she can give to Prince Genji's verses is that *even* the professors were impressed by them.

The sentence merits quotation: *Hakasedomo no kokoro-ni mo imiju omoeri* 博士どもの心にもいみじう思～り 'Even by the minds of the professors [Genji's contribution was] judged to be excellent.' Waley's translation (1935, p. 147)[25] expresses the force of Lady Murasaki's 'even' (*mo* も), but Seidensticker (1976, vol. 1, p. 151)[26] does not reflect this all-important particle. Prince Genji was clearly exceptional in writing Chinese verse that impressed even those who professed Chinese literature; it is *they* whose accomplishment in Chinese is acknowledged as a standard, even though they displayed the displeasing social facies attributed to academics worldwide and throughout history.

It is wrong, therefore, to imagine a golden-age of *literacy* in Chinese in Japan. Even among the nobility it was at best a modest competence that was achieved, comparable perhaps with the latinity of English parlementarians in the eighteenth century. At most the archivists, for example, achieve a business-like succinctness of style; but Sino-Japanese texts remain stylistically different from Chinese. Some writers may have reached the level of competence of a minor Chinese historian; but no Japanese ever wrote Chinese prose with the rhythm and balance of a Zhu Xi 朱熹, in a style of real emotive power. Nor are there grounds for supposing that a Palace-scribe or even a member of the Imperial House, would have written more 'correct' characters than those of the copyists of the thirteenth century. There is, for example, good reason to believe that the 920–1 copy of *FBBF* was written by Prince Sadayasu himself (Wolpert, 1977, p. 150); but the hand is by no means distinguished, and the Chinese of the preface is a pallid reflection of familiar passages from various *piba-fu* 琵琶賦 ('Lute rhapsodies').

Apart from the relatively few internationally distinguished Japanese Sinologists, the standard of competence in Chinese, set by teaching in Japanese universities, leaves much to be desired, with students required to absorb Japanese 'paraphrases' of Chinese classical texts, rather than facing the rigours of Chinese grammar and syntax in the light of all that modern scholarship, both Chinese and Western, has contributed to the elucidation of classical Chinese of the various literary periods. Because of the shared vocabulary of Chinese characters, the profound difference between an isolating language, such as Chinese, and an agglutinating language, such as Japanese, seems not to be adequately appreciated by those responsible in Japan for the teaching of Chinese.

The ability to *translate* Chinese freely, exhibited in the Nara and early Heian periods by Japanese who had studied in Tang China, was a facility later lost by Japanese scholars, with the interruption of contact between the two peoples, from the mid-ninth century onwards; and when *Zen/Chan* scholars once again came to Japan, towards the end of the twelfth century, classical Chinese was no longer a living language among the Japanese. Their readings of Chinese texts became literal and mechanical, and have tended to remain so, even in the style (still standard) evolved in the time of the Tokugawa *Shōguns* (Crawcour, 1965).[27] Instead of a modern approach in terms of linguistics, recourse is had to the ancient, rule-of-thumb method of pointing *kanji*-texts for the benefit of Japanese readers, as if no more were required than ability to re-order the Chinese text, add particles and conjugate verbs. The imprecision of 'translations' from the *Li Ji* 禮記 in a recent publication are sad witness to the truth of this statement (p. 111, n. 8), for in fact they are no 'translations'. The essential concepts, embodied in the original Chinese lexigraphs, are merely re-set in a matrix of Japanese syntax. It is tacitly assumed that the semantic significance of the lexigraphs is no different today from what it was in the second century BC. Most grievously, the citations used reveal that the author fails to grasp the meaning of the term *yue* 樂, so amply defined by the ancient text. The multiple definitions of that term in that same text show explicitly that it did not mean what we now understand by the concept of 'music' – which is what the eminent paraphraser supposes it to mean. In the light of this inability of a modern scholar to read a classical Chinese text with any more insight than did those Sinologists who laboured in the nineteenth century, it may well be that Ōga no Motomasa's 'translation' of the *Huiyao*-passage (Fascicle 3, p. 7) is to be regarded, not as a politic version, tailored for a Japanese readership, but as a consequence of inability fully to understand a Chinese text.

To progress from observations of inadequacies in script and style, in the writing of Sino-Japanese, to questioning the validity of the musical texts copied – as one critic has done – is to throw doubt without justification. It is the agreement between our four staves in notation that is, in itself, the most weighty argument for the surety and reliability with which the scribes performed their task in different centuries. The transcriptions are certainly *not* any Japanese music known to us from any period; and if not, what – other than Chinese – can they be?

Our critics are all, of course, in the unfortunate position of not knowing (as we now do) the entire Tang-Music repertory, as transcribed from all the surviving, earliest, Sino-Japanese manuscripts. They may be forgiven for having doubts, but are not to be excused for failing to read what we have written over the past thirty years. Some Chinese will hope that *Tōgaku* will turn out to be no Chinese music, because they find the sound of *Tōgaku*-performance so alien; and there are those Japanese who detest our temerity, our insistence on making musical

[25] *The Tale of Genji*, London

[26] *The Tale of Genji*, London

[27] Crawcour, Sydney (1965) *An introduction to Kambun* Ann Arbor

sense of primary sources that they have never even bothered to publish in facsimile.[28]

It has, of course, always been necessary for Japanese authors, writing of *Tōgaku*, to postulate the occurrence of change, of some kind, in the repertory, over the centuries, since both the evidence of the untutored ear – that *Tōgaku* does not sound like any known Chinese music – and rejection by the Chinese as Chinese music, could not be ignored. But by and large, in giving expression to essentially pseudo-historical judgements – 'pseudo' since any genuine *historical* basis for such assertions, possibly enshrined in the tablatures, lay beyond their knowledge or perceptions – such writers have only been aware of the non-Chinese character of the acculturated surface, furnished by flute and *hichiriki*, in today's performance. Without exception, all have been unaware of the concealed *canti fermi* of each item, the original Tang melodies, embedded not merely in the manuscript sources, but in the performance itself. Let it be stressed yet again: none of the music published by us in transcription has been 'heard' in Japan for upwards of a thousand years; and yet it is all present, variously disguised, in today's performance. Each performance encapsulates an extraordinary type of acculturation-phenomenon in that a close approximation to the original, loaned material, is presented to the ear, simultaneously with the utterly transformed, acculturated surface, itself the consequence of both modal and mensural variation. The *scores* preserve Tang Music; *performance practice* reveals the obscuring, acculturated facies.

V. *A paradigm*

In this fifth section of our *Apologia* for *Music from the Tang Court*, it is proposed to take up, in advance of systematic consideration of modal groups other than *Ichikotsu-chō*, the instance of *Etenraku*, claimed by Hirano Kenji (1977, p. 26)[29] to be an example of 'creation on the model of foreign forms' in the 'process of digestion of Chinese music' (*ibid.*, p. 27). Hirano states that the title of *Etenraku* 'seems' to be 'the title of a Chinese composition'. *Eten/Yuedian* 越殿 (that is, without *raku/yue* 樂) does not merely *seem* to be, it *is* a title in the list of items in the *Taicou Shang* 太簇商 mode in the *JGL* (*c.* 848–50). Accepting the pitch of *Huang-zhong* 黃鐘, in the Tang, as *D*, this mode was a Mixolydian octave-species with *E* as final. Hirano states further that the music of *Etenraku* 'is regarded as having been composed in Japan.' The *cantus* of the *Hyōjō* version of *Etenraku*, derived from the mouth-organ version, also cadences on *E*; and this same *cantus* requires only the presence of a sharpened *G*, instead of *G*♮, for it to be transformed into a piece in the *Taicou Shang* mode (p. 120). Examples of such modal change have been noted elsewhere (p. 109). The presence of the *canto fermo* in the versions for mouth-organ, lute, and (slightly modified) zither, is (of course) unsuspected by Japanese musicologists; and what Hirano and the public at large regard as the *Etenraku*-melody is the modally transformed melodic surface, furnished by the embellished, variant versions of *hichiriki* and *ryūteki* – the *canti figurati* based on the primary melody.

In this instance, of course, as the Chinese title implies, this is music from a tributary state of the Tang, Khotan;[30] music which (we may suppose) had passed through the filter of Chinese taste, imposed by Chinese musicians in the course of acceptance into the repertory.

Of the source-scores with which we work, *JCYR* and *SGYR* include versions classed in *Hyōjō/Pingdiao* 平調 and *Banshiki-chō/Panshe diao* 盤涉調. *KF/HSF-ritsukan* has a version in *Banshiki-chō*, but notes that this has been 'transferred' (=transposed) from the original *Hyōjō*-version. *SSSTF* has only a version in *Banshiki-chō* and makes no reference to a version in any other mode-key. The published mouth-organ scores (Fascicle 1, p. 6, n. 4) include versions of *Etenraku/Yuedian-yue* 越殿/天樂 classed as in *Hyōjō*, *Ōshiki-chō*, and *Banshiki-chō*. While these three modes are all Dorian octave-species, on finals *E* (*Hyōjō*), *A* (*Ōshiki-chō*), and *B* (*Banshiki-chō*), respectively, the three versions are *not* mere transpositions of one-and-the-same melody in three different keys. In its use of *G*♮, the *Banshiki*-version is not, in fact, in *Banshiki-chō*. The octave-species is Aeolian, not Dorian. Furthermore, in the *Hyōjō*-version the melody leaps a fourth in the second binary unit of measure 3 (p. 120); while in the other two versions the leap is a minor third. Yet again, unlike the Meiji versions, the mouth-organ versions of *KF/HSF* and *SSSTF* descend by step from the first note of the third measure; whereas in the Meiji-versions the first note is repeated.

The collectanea of Moronaga establish that versions in *Hyōjō* and in *Banshiki-chō* existed in the late twelfth century – a little more than three hundred years after the definitive importation of the repertory, if we may accept that this occurred with the return from Tang China of Fujiwara no Sadatoshi in 841. We suggest that the tiny differences between versions, as recorded in mouth-organ scores of 1201, 1303, and 1894,

[28] Where facsimiles are now beginning to be published, we note that this is not uncommonly done at reductions such as cannot be read, so far as musical, notational elements are concerned, at reductions not even readable with a handlens, since the technique of reproduction – coarse-screened half-tones – renders magnification ineffective. This marks a perpetuation of a characteristic indifference to ancient *music*: for example, the printing of Moronaga's prefaces, without any of his musical tablatures, in *Koji-ruien*. Recently there is the instance of the late Yokoyama Shigeru 横山重 in publishing a collected edition of texts of *Sekkyōbushi* (説經正本集 *Sekkyō-shōhon-shū*) without their neumatic notations and musical annotations, even going so far as to mask all sides of the single photograph of a page with notation, without identifying the work, or the source, from which it is taken. In passing, it may be recorded that the photographs, now used in leading Japanese libraries as a substitute for access to original manuscripts, are not infrequently at a reduction that renders them useless for serious study.

[29] Hirano Kenji 平野健次

[30] *Yuedian=uo-den=uot-den=uot-ten*=Khotan. *Etenraku*='Khotanese Music' (Picken, 1974, p. 12, n. 10).

exemplify the probable, maximal range of variance in the primary material of this piece.

Another kind of variability, namely that of lute-versions in *Hyōjō*, in manuscripts of different date: 1876 (A), 1566 (C), and 1328 (D), is displayed in Picken and Wolpert (1981).[31] All lute-versions show a leap of a minor third (or inversions of the same) rather than a fourth.

Accepting that the Palace-copy of *SGYR* of 1328 is a copy of a manuscript completed in 1208, this implies that it and the three modal versions for mouth-organ, and the set of lute-versions in Picken and Wolpert, demonstrate the maximal variance between versions over a period not far short of 700 years. In relation to the character of the basic mouth-organ versions, the observed variants are trivial; and there is no evidence that they are cumulative in time. Unless we postulate that some perverse quirk of character led Japanese musicians to practise wanton deformation of Tang musical materials during the first 400 years (again approximate) since acquisition of the repertory, we have no reason to argue that the degree of modification of the original material was any greater during the first four centuries than it was during the last seven centuries. And why, indeed, should such deformation have occurred during the period when respect for the music of the Chinese Court was most intense?

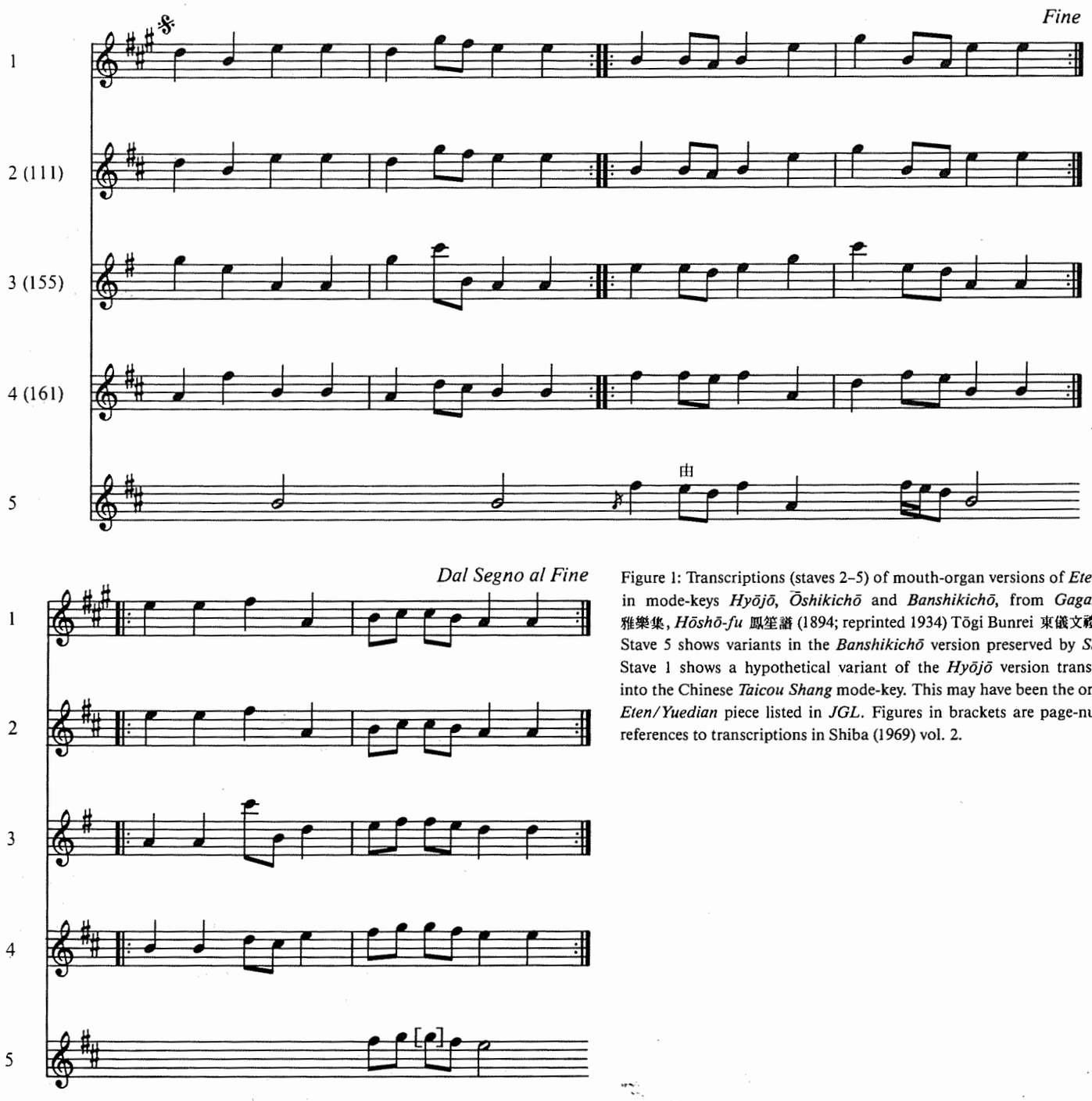


Figure 1: Transcriptions (staves 2–5) of mouth-organ versions of *Etenraku* in mode-keys *Hyōjō*, *Ōshikichō* and *Banshikichō*, from *Gagakushū* 雅樂集, *Hōshō-fu* 鳳笙譜 (1894; reprinted 1934) Tōgi Bunrei 東儀文禮 ed.). Stave 5 shows variants in the *Banshikichō* version preserved by *SSSTF*. Stave 1 shows a hypothetical variant of the *Hyōjō* version transposed into the Chinese *Taicou Shang* mode-key. This may have been the original *Eten/Yuedian* piece listed in *JGL*. Figures in brackets are page-number references to transcriptions in Shiba (1969) vol. 2.

[31] Picken, L.E.R. and Wolpert, R.F. (1981) 'mouth-organ and lute parts of Tōgaku and their interrelationship' *Musica Asiatica* 3, pp. 79–95; see p. 89. The rhythm in which mordents are notated in these transcriptions, made in 1972, is wrong. They should have been written as two semi-quavers/sixteenth-notes + quaver/eighth-note.

Staves 2, 3 and 4, (p. 120) show transcriptions of the mouth-organ tablatures in their Meiji versions for three versions of *Etenraku* (Figure 1). All three show departures from the most-singable, vocal realization of the melody, departures occasioned by the restricted range and note-set of the mouth-organ (*shō/sheng* 笙): *a′ b′ c♯″ d″ e″ f♯″ g″ g♯″ a″ b″ c‴ c♯‴ d‴ e‴ f♯‴*. The mouth-organ versions on staves 2 and 3 are in the Dorian mode (Glarean system) on *E* and *A*, while the fourth stave is Aeolian on *B*. This last is unusual for an item allotted to *Banshiki-chō*. The lute, however, sharpens the *G* in measure 6, so that all three lute-versions are Dorian in modality. The change of *g♯″* to *g♮″* in the mouth-organ version in *Banshiki-chō* may have occurred because of the more conspicuous harmonic change from the cluster-chord on *f♯″* to that on *g♮″* rather than to that on *g♯″*.

Again, the version in *Hyōjō* shows a crotchet/quarter-note as the third beat in measure 5, where the other two versions have a ligature of two quavers/eighth-notes. The descending leap of a minor ninth in the *Ōshiki-chō* version is due, of course, to the absence of a *c♮″* from the lower octave of the mouth-organ note-set.

We can be fairly certain that the piece had passed through the filter of Chinese 'acculturation' before ever it was heard by any Japanese visitors to the Tang Court, and we suggest that these minor melodic differences between mode-key versions are typical of the degree of modification of *primary* materials received from China in the first phase of their history in the Japanese environment. The full force of the process of acculturation in Japan was directed *first* at the *decoration* of flute- and *hichiriki*-versions, and subsequently at *performance-practice* in respect of these versions, leading to modal modification.

A striking feature of all three versions of this piece is the presence of a third repeating unit of two measures which cadences on the sub-dominant. It is not probable that this tune, with its conspicuous AABBCCAABB-structure, should be a Japanese tune. Note how CC in its exploration of an upper-tetrachord, conjunct (on the final) with a lower-tetrachord, gives almost the effect of a modulation, in all three versions, before the return to the opening tetrachordal structures. This is precisely the type of exploration of modal aspects already abundantly confirmed for the bulk of the *Ichikotsu-chō* materials (N.J.N. in Fascicles 2–4). The melody appears to change to the sub-dominant *major* in the versions in *Hyō-jō* and *Ōshiki-chō*, where the major third (the sub-mediant of the mode) above the sub-dominant is sounded twice in sequence. In the version in *Banshiki-chō*, on the other hand, the sub-mediant is a minor third above the sub-dominant, and the apparent change is to the sub-dominant minor.

The various flute- and *hichiriki*-versions associated with each of the three mouth-organ versions differ in detail, and their differences are at times due to necessary octave-shifts so as to achieve comfortable performance. The popularity of the *Hyōjō*-version may be due to the 'singableness' of the flute- and *hichiriki*-versions, proceeding (as they do) with no leap larger than a fourth, and which begin *on* the same note as the mouth-organ-melody, *not* on an ascent to that note, by two conjunct steps in the *Ōshiki-chō* version, or by an ascending appoggiatura in the *Banshiki-chō* version.

The *canto fermo* of 'Khotanese Music', in its three modal variants is (we submit) to this day essentially the basic, musical material received by the Japanese from the Chinese. The process of acculturation impinged on the melodic variants of flute and *hichiriki*. These alone have undergone what the critic presumably meant when referring (p. 115) to 'a significant and Japanese conceptualized alteration of the original manuscript' (again one must deny the assumption that the Tang-Music repertory ever depended on the existence of a single, original manuscript).

So that the reader may more readily grasp the relationship between *canto fermo* and *canto figurato* for flute, the former melodic line (Figure 2) is here written in crotchet/quarter-notes, since black note-heads suggest to a modern reader a tempo not impossibly slow. The flute-version is written out from Shiba's full-score (*op.cit.*, 2, p. 111) with all Shiba's note-values divided by four. The original speed of the *canto fermo* (we suggest) may have been *c.* ♩ =240; while ♩ =30 may suggest a mean speed of modern performance of the flute-version. Conspicuous in the *hichiriki*-version is the virtual absence of *G*, so that the final is approached *via* a descending tetrachord: *A F E* (*F* occasionally sharpened). This typical, 'national' type, hemitonic tetrachord is responsible for the *Edo-bushi*-like (江戸節) character of the surface in *ensemble*-performance. In the flute-version, the effect is softened by a *G-échappé* between *F* and *E* in descent, and by an F♮→F♯ glide in ascent. Nevertheless, the greater sonority of the *hichiriki*, together with its occasional *C♮*s, determines an overall hemitonic-pentatonic, modal effect, as if the note-set were *E F A B C′*, with occasional, decorative auxiliary-accidentals. In this way, acculturation has provided an obviously Japanese surface to an ensemble that remains, in the details of mouth-organ, lute-, and zither-versions, based on the virtually unchanged *canto fermo*, received from the Tang Court.

Finally (Figure 1), the Reader's eye may be directed to a fourth version of the *canto fermo*, on stave 1 (p. 120). This is a hypothetical *Taicou Shang* version such as would have fitted perfectly into that category of items in *JGL*. It differs only from the *Hyōjō*-version in the sharpening of *G*. The opinion that the *Hyōjō*-version of *Etenraku* is the original is accepted in Japan and is supported by the observation recorded in *KF/HSFRK* (p. 119). We suggest now that the appearance of *Yuedian* 'Khotan' in *JGL* in the *Taicou Shang* class is compatible with the traditional Japanese view of the priority of the *Hyōjō*-version. It is clear that a version with an unsharpened *G* is likely to have been more acceptable to Japanese ears; but there is no reason to question the occurrence of a tritone-leap in a melody acceptable to Chinese ears during the Tang period. The twelve tunes (believed to be of Tang date or earlier – see p. 28) for lyrics from the *Guofeng* 國風 section of 'The Book of Songs' (*Shijing* 詩經) (Picken, 1956, pp. 152–66) include fifteen instances of leaps of a tritone, both ascending and descending.

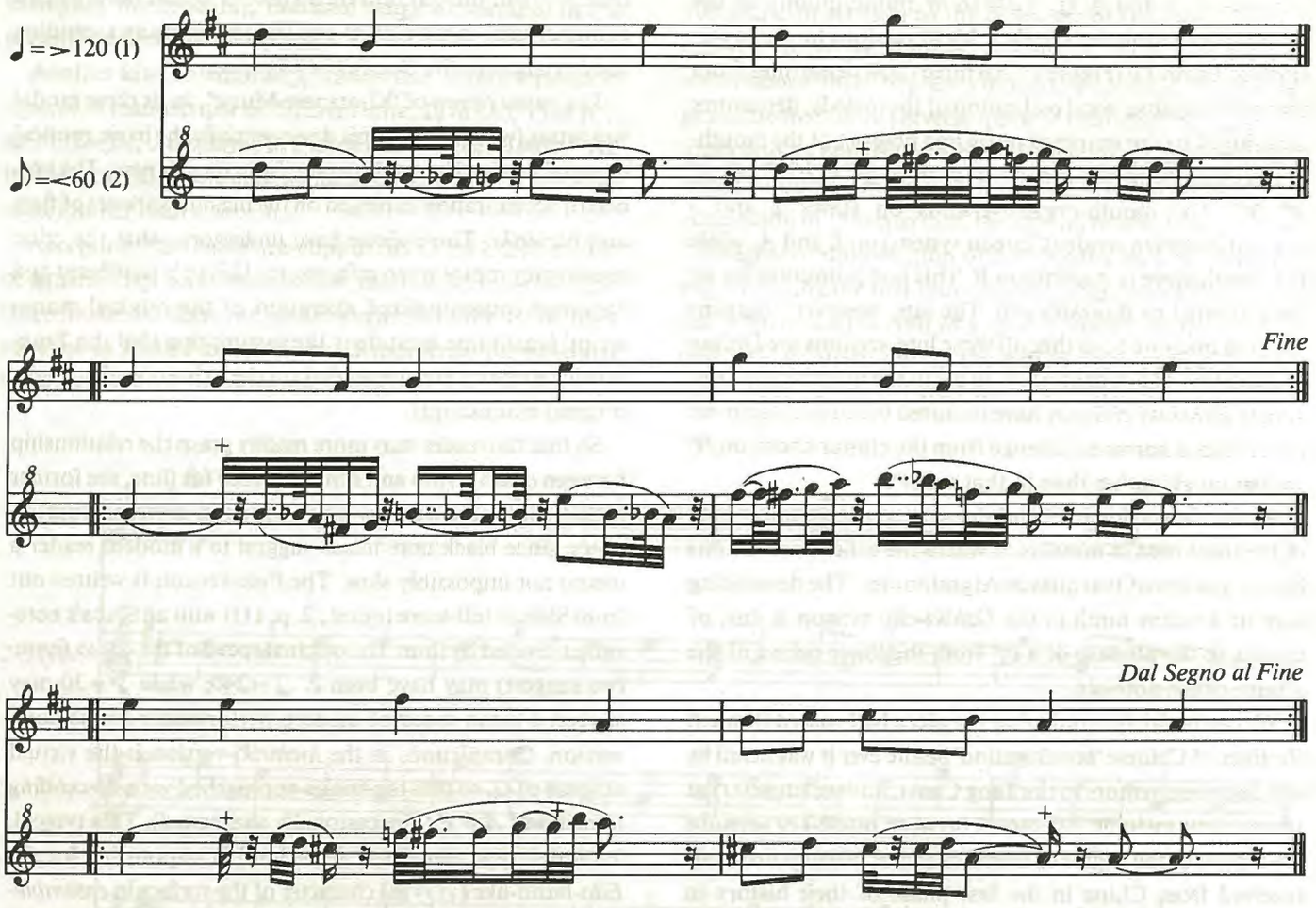



Figure 2: The mouth-organ *canto fermo* of *Etenraku* (*Hyōjō* version) (Stave 1) is set in parallel with the corresponding *canto figurato* for flute (Stave 2), derived from the transcription by Shiba (1969; vol. 2, p. 111), dividing each of Shiba's note-durations by 4.

From Shiba's transcriptions (pp. 111, 155, and 161, in volume 2) it is plain that *fue* and *hichiriki*-versions in *Hyōjō* were devised in relation to the mouth-organ melody-line (which, but for a single inversion, is the same as that for *gaku-biwa*). This relationship is also valid for the versions in *Banshiki-chō* and *Ōshiki-chō*. It is to be emphasized that none of our critics is aware of the melodies enshrined in the mouth-organ tablatures. Knowing (as they do) that the *shō* plays chords for the most part, it does not occur to them ever to consider the *shō*-tablature as a melody. And *ipso-facto* they are unaware of the non-Japanese character of these hidden melodies. Not one of these persons is able to transcribe either zither- or lute-versions, in full, rhythmic detail, and so to establish the essential identity between the melodic materials of the mouth-organ versions and those of zither and lute.

Addendum:

With the ink of this restatement and review scarcely dry, a new reviewer seeks to demolish our work. Building on incomplete citations of Japanese comments on the *Tōgaku*-repertory, made in a previous review (this essay, p. 116), this new critic, himself ignorant of the manuscript sources available in Japan today, and dating from the eighth century onwards, feels authorised to state that 'it still remains a completely open question whether and to what extent whole musical pieces of the Chinese repertoire were actually incorporated into *tōgaku*. . .' He goes on to suggest that it would have been more 'circumspect' to entitle our series 'Music from the Heian Court'.[32]

Is it then more probable that the Japanese, on receipt of the lute-scores of Sadatoshi's first teacher in China, Lian Chengwu, and the twenty to thirty scrolls (see later, p. 125) of music in notation from his second teacher, Liu Erlang, set about fabricating imitations, rather than making use of their contents? Again, while it is true that bearing the same title does not necessarily imply that two pieces of music were, or are, the same, when the *time-separation* between the occurrence of items of the same *title*, at the Chinese Court and at the Japanese Court, is as brief as it was in many instances during the Heian period, the probability of the *pieces*' being musically the same, or closely related, is increased. In China, and for the repertory of the 7-stringed zither, essential identity in basic musical materials of pieces of the same title can be shown to extend over at least five centuries in some instances.

[32] Heinz-Dieter Reese (1986) in *The World of Music*, 28, 2, p. 81.

Ignoring many instances of careless reading, apparent in this review, one merits notice: it is alleged that *Toraden* (Fascicle 2, p. 7) can be traced back to a 'round dance' originating in Sogdiana. This possible identification of the dance as a *Rundtanz* was first made by Gimm (1966, *op.cit.*, p. 270), basing his suggestion on the translation of *tuanluan* (Fascicle 2, p. 7) as 'round'; but it is plain from the translated contemporary texts (Fascicle 2, p. 11) – ignored by the critic – that the dance was *not* what is meant by a 'round dance' but a *gyratory* dance (Fascicle 2, p. 100), with rotation about the body-axis.[33]

[33] *Sur le pont d'Avignon, L'on y danse tous en rond* refers indeed to a round dance (*Rundtanz*), like 'Ring-a-ring of Roses, A pocket full of posies', *not* to a gyratory dance like *Toraden*.

Appendix 3: *Fujiwara no Sadatoshi* 藤原貞敏 and the manuscript-treasures from his field-trip to Tang China (835–48)

Since the facts regarding the total bulk of scores in musical notation, brought back to Japan by Sadatoshi (Fascicle 1, p. 13), seem not as yet to have come to the attention of our reviewers, notwithstanding the availability of these facts in our own and in previous publications by others, it may be as well to repeat them here, and to add a first complete translation of the biography of Sadatoshi from 'The Authentic Records of the Three Reigns'.[1] The colophon to *FBBF* (Wolpert, 1975, p. 29; 1977, p. 146), and the biography (see later), together imply that Sadatoshi received instruction on the lute from two teachers: first (and at the court of the Governor of Yangzhou) from Lian Chengwu 廉承武. The colophon goes on to record that on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of the year 838 (Kaicheng 開成 3) 'when proficiency in the art was reached, Master Chengwu sent [presumably to Sadatoshi] this tablature [that is, the music in notations, and annotations, in *FBBF*] as a lasting record' (Wolpert, 1977, p. 146). This means that the extended preludes in the four principal mode-keys, together with the tunings and tuning-testing pieces for 27 out of the 28 mode-keys of the Tang, were all part of Lian Chengwu's gift. The decision of scholars on the Staff of the Library of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo to unite, as a single manuscript, what had previously existed in the Fushimi-no-miya bequest as two such, has everything to recommend it. The two parts are both written on the same quality of 'Cloud Paper' (雲紙) (Wolpert, 1977, p. 111) and they are both written throughout in the same hand, seemingly that of Prince Sadayasu (870–924). The Prince also appears to have copied the original preface and colophon of Sadatoshi, but to have extended the preface by adding an appraisal of the abilities of his pupil, Prince Atsumi (Wolpert, 1977, pp. 136, 149).

Though mentioned by R.F.W. (1975, p. 215), the fact that Sadatoshi also brought back with him to Japan further scrolls of music in tablature has not previously been considered in the most important context in which this information occurs, namely, the biography of Sadatoshi in *Sandai jitsuroku*. This is the sixth book of the historical annals of Japan, up to AD 888, collectively known as *Rikkokushi* 'The Six State-Histories' (*Rikkokushi* 六國史).

○ On the fourth day, *Kishi* 己巳 [of the ninth month of the ninth year of *Jōgan* 貞觀 867], the courtier, Fujiwara no Sadatoshi, Head of the Housekeeping Bureau, [but of] Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade [the rank being higher than the office] died. Regarding Sadatoshi: he was the sixth son of the Chief of the Bureau of Punishment, Tsuguhiko. From an early age he loved music, liked learning to play the *kin* and of course played *biwa* well. In the second year of *Jōwa* [835], he became Mimosaka Secretary and was attached to the suite of the ambassador to the Tang Court. In the fifth year he reached Great Tang, and on arrival went to the metropolis [Changan] and met one able to play *biwa*, Liu Erlang. Sadatoshi presented him with 200 *ryō* [=the old Chinese ounce] of gold dust. Liu Erlang said: "Etiquette demands reciprocity. I would like to give you something in return; namely, I will instruct you in two or three modal systems." In the space of two or three months he had completed fine pieces of music. Liu Erlang made a gift of musical scores in several tens of scrolls.[2] Following this he enquired, saying: "Who was your Teacher? Of course you have studied fine pieces, have you not?" Sadatoshi

[1] *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代實録: The three reigns of Emperors Seiwa, Yōzei and Kōkō.

[2] The idiom *su jū/shu shi* 數十 implies some twenty to thirty scrolls.

replied saying: "This is my family-tradition throughout many generations. Of masters, I have had no other." Liu Erlang said: "Ah! In olden days one heard of Xie Zhenxi;[3] but who was he [in comparison]? Your Servant has a young daughter and wishes to encourage her to share her pillow with you." Sadatoshi replying said: "One word of this kind is weighty where a thousand pieces of gold in repayment are light; [but] I have already completed the marriage-ceremony."[4]

Miss Liu [played] *kin* and *biwa* outstandingly well. In the course of being taught, Sadatoshi obtained new tunes and a number of pieces.

The following year, the ceremonies being finally completed, they unloosed cable and returned home. On the brink of his making his farewells, Liu Erlang prepared a farewell banquet and presented *biwa*s of purple sandalwood and purple *Wisteria*-wood, one of each. This year was the first year of *Dazhong* of Great Tang [847], that is, the sixth year [in fact, the fourteenth year] of this country's *Jōwa* [reign-period]. In the seventh year he became Assistant Governor of Mikawa [Province]. In the eighth year he was promoted to Assistant Master of Palaces and after awhile was again promoted to being *Gagaku*-Assistant. In the ninth year, in Spring, he received Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade. Several years passed and his post was changed to Head [of *Gagaku*]. In the third year of *Saikō* [856] he became Assistant Governor of Bizen [Province] as well, and in the following Spring he added the rank of Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade. In the second year of *Tennan* [858], being in mourning for his mother, he retired from office. When he laid aside his mourning, he was made Head of the Housekeeping Bureau, and in the sixth year of *Jōgan* [864] he became Assistant Governor of Bitchu [Province] as well.

At the time of his death he was 61. Sadatoshi had no other artistic ability. By virtue of his being able to play *biwa* excellently, he remained in office throughout three reigns. Although he enjoyed no special favour, his reputation was rather high.'

○四日己巳、從五位上行掃部頭藤原朝臣貞敏卒、貞敏者、刑部卿從三位繼彦之第六子也、少耽愛音樂、好學鼓琴、尤善彈琵琶、承和二年爲美作椽兼遣唐使准判官、五年到大唐、達上都、逢能彈琵琶者劉二部、貞敏贈砂金二百兩、劉二部曰、禮貴往來、請欲相傳、即授兩三調、二三月間、盡了妙曲、劉二郎贈譜數十卷、因問曰、君師何人、素學妙曲乎、貞敏答曰、是我累代之家風、更無他師、劉二郎曰、於戲昔聞謝鎭西、此何人哉、僕有一、少女、願令薦枕席、貞敏答曰、一言斯重、千金還輕、既而成婚禮、劉娘尤善琴箏、貞敏習得新聲數曲、明年聘禮既畢、解纜歸鄉、臨行劉二郎設祖筵、贈紫檀紫藤琵琶各一面、是歲、大唐大中元年、本朝承和六年也、七年爲參河介、八年遷主殿助、少選遷雅樂助、九年春授從五位下、數歲轉頭、齊衡三年兼備前介、明春加從五位上、天安二年丁母憂解官、服闋拜掃部頭、貞觀六年兼備中介、卒時年六十一、貞敏無他才藝、以能彈琵琶、歷仕三代、雖無殊寵、聲價稍高焉。○

It appears then that Sadatoshi enjoyed instruction by at least two Tang-Chinese lute-teachers, one in Yangzhou and one in Changan. Since a copy of the entire *Tōgaku* repertory in lute-tablature amounts to seven of the twelve scrolls of the eleventh-century *SGYR*, a gift of 20 or 30 scrolls would have permitted Sadatoshi to bring back to Japan three or four complete sets of the repertory, in tablatures for three or four *different* instruments. This number of scrolls is that given also by Waley,[5] in a note on Sadatoshi added to an account of Ennin's pilgrimage. Aware only of *Liu Erlang's* role as teacher, Waley also states that Sadatoshi brought back from China twenty or thirty scrolls of musical notation and two lutes.

Of course the *length* of a scroll is a quantity as indeterminate as that of a *piece* of string; but if we imagine the two-volume facsimile-printing of the Ming (1425) edition of the entire 7-stringed zither repertory (Fascicle 2, p. 100) converted to a scroll of the same height as those in the Palace copy of *SGYR* of 1328, its bulk would perhaps amount to *one* of the twelve scrolls of *SGYR*. This leads one to ask what the total bulk of twenty to thirty scrolls may have comprised. The Ming repertory for *qin* 琴 clearly includes items for zither related to items from both the Tang and the Song repertories, yet its bulk equates approximately to only one scroll of *SGYR*. Again *FBBF* amounts to no more than a single scroll in the Palace manuscript of 920–21. The much greater bulk of that portion of *SGYR* occupied by the *Tōgaku* repertory invites the view that the bulk of scrolls brought back to Japan by Sadatoshi consisted of *copies* of the *Tōgaku* repertory for *several different instruments*, a repertory considerably larger than that of the *qin* in the early Ming dynasty. At least one *Tōgaku* item is reported to have been brought to Japan by Sadatoshi in person, namely, the Quick of *Katen* (Fascicle 3, p. 21).

[3] The point of this reference seems now to be lost.

[4] That is: 'I am already married.'

[5] Waley, Arthur (1952) *The real Tripitaka and other pieces*, London; see p. 277.

Appendix 4: New insights since the publication of Fascicle 1 (1981)

In his recent book: *Tempyō no hibiki* 天平の響 (1985) ('Echoes of Tempyō'), Professor Kishibe Shigeo 岸辺成雄 drew attention (p. 9) to the presence, in the vocabulary of the present-day Drum Music from Xi'an Province (*Xi'an Guyue* 西安鼓樂, a wind-and-percussion ensemble), of the term translated by us as *Processional* (Fascicle 1, p. 40; Fascicle 2, p. 52). In a score of the Qing dynasty, shown to him by Mr Li Shigen 李石根, Professor Kishibe noticed the term *Yusei/ Yousheng* 遊聲, along with other terms familiar from the scores of certain *Tōgaku* pieces: *Kandō* 換頭 'Changed beginning' (=modified incipit); *Jūdō* 重頭 'Doubled beginning' (=repeat from the beginning). This experience was later confirmed to us by word of mouth by Professor Liang Mingyue 梁銘越 who also had visited Mr Li. These observations imply that the term *Yousheng* existed and exists in China as a designation for a musical movement in a suite, though not necessarily with the meaning of *Processional*. Still more recently, Mr Stephen Jones (S.J.) visited Mr Li in 1986 and, in the light of information generously made available to him by Mr Li, contributes the following preliminary note.

Appendix 5: A note on Xi'an Ancient Music and its *Yousheng* 遊聲 (S.J.)

In recent years, one of several instrumental genres for which Chinese scholars have sought Tang and Song ancestry is the ensemble music in the vicinity of Xi'an 西安 (site of the Tang capital), now widely known as 'Drum Music' but perhaps more properly known as 'Ancient Music' (*Guyue*: either 古樂 or 鼓樂).

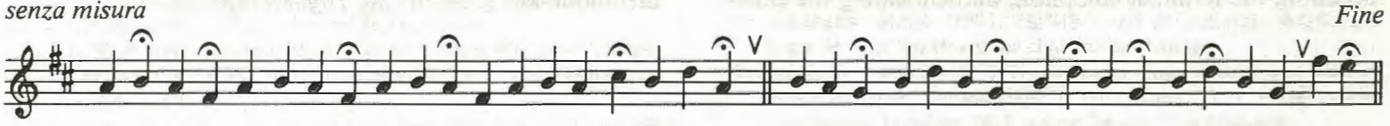
Many features deserve comparative study, but it is the notation in particular that has attracted attention, by its resemblance to surviving Song dynasty notations. The oldest score now known dates from the late 17th century (although Ming scores were apparently lost during the Cultural Revolution), but the tradition is undoubtedly ancient, despite constant absorption of new influences. One feature relevant here is the movement-title *Yousheng* 遊聲, of which a few examples survive both in *Tōgaku* and *Guyue*.

For the following comments I am deeply indebted to Mr Li Shigen 李石根, who since the early 1950s has studied *Guyue* indefatigably and has published articles and books, together with an exhaustive series of transcriptions, indispensable for the study of this music.[1]

Traditionally, the term *Yousheng* in *Guyue* is equated with the metrically free movements called *Qi* 起 or *Qimu* 起目, usually, but not invariably, preludial in function.[2] Li Shigen glosses *you* 遊 as 'wandering', 'not fixed', 'free-tempo'

Yousheng
senza misura

Fine



(after the transcription made by Li Shigen)

[1] The transcriptions are entitled *Xi'an guyue quji* 西安鼓乐曲集, Shaanxi sheng qunzhong yishuguan 陕西省群众芸术館, 1982, 9 vols., mimeographed (reclassified from the original pre-Cultural-Revolution transcriptions). On the notation, see Li Shigen 李石根, *Xi'an guyue pu jiedu* 西安鼓楽譜解読, Shaanxi sheng yishu yanjiusuo 陕西省芸术研究所 1983, also in mimeograph, but soon to be published. Many articles on *guyue* are also to be found the periodical of the Xi'an yinyue xueyuan 西安音院学报.

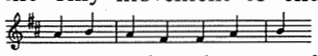
More accessibly, *Yinyue yanjiu* 音乐研究 includes two articles by Li Shigen: 'Tang daqu yu Xi'an guyue de xingshi jiegou' 唐大曲与西安鼓乐的形式結构, 1980/3; and 'Xi'an chenghuang miao Daopai guyue' 西安城隍庙道派鼓乐, 1984/3. For a convenient introduction, see Yang Yinliu 楊荫浏, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shigao* 中国古代音乐史稿 (Beijing, 1981), vol. 2, pp. 988–9. For a structural analysis (with contentious comparisons with Tang music) see Ye Dong 叶栋, *Minzu qiyue de ticai yu xingshi* 民族器乐的体裁与形式 (Shanghai, 1983) pp. 78–109, and pp. 268–96 for a complete transcription of the most celebrated *Guyue* suite.

[2] Li, *Quji* (see n. 1 above) 4, p. 120 states that musicians used to call *Qi* '*Yousheng*'. See also *Jiedu* (see above n. 1) p. 26.

(*sanban* 散板), and the tempo of such pieces is indeed most fluid, with the flute (*dizi* 笛子) taking the lead. The two *Yousheng* known to me appear late in the sequence of movements, but are closely related in style to introductory *Qi* movements.

The *Yousheng* transcribed here is the 15th of some 20 movements comprising the suite *Zhegui ling* 折桂令 of the now obsolete *Daiyue* 大樂 genre.[3] Both the Dongcang 東倉 and the Xicang 西倉 traditions include untitled and undated manuscripts of this suite, similar, but differing in mode-key.[4]

The *Daiyue* genre is said to derive from court-music traditions such as are described in the *Liao History*.[5] It is thus one of the more ancient parts of the *Guyue* repertory, and indeed the titles of the movements are perhaps yet more redolent of Tang-Song pieces (and also of the imperial court) than those of other parts of the repertory, though the music itself cannot be assumed to have remained unmodified.[6]

The first movement of this suite is an untitled but *measured* piece (unusually so), closely related to the succeeding short movements. The initial movements mostly end on the tonic, though one ends on the seventh and two on the third; later on, cadences on the sixth become standard. This *Yousheng* is thus the only movement to end on the second. The phrase  is common to the first three movements, but does not feature thereafter. It would be premature to suggest that the *Yousheng* movement, in this case at least, may have been displaced from the beginning.

Another Xicang score, the *Wainanci tao quanji* 外南詞套全集, includes a piece: *Jintang yue* 錦堂月, in which a brief *Yousheng* appears as the penultimate movement. The sequence of movements is: *Qi* 起, *Zhengshen* 正身 (slow/*xingpai* 行拍), *Yousheng*, *Gungu* 滾鼓.[7] Both the *Nanci* and *Wainanci* genres commonly include a second, brief, free-tempo section following the main movement, closely related to the opening *Qi* and often also called *Qi*.

If it is legitimate to regard *Qi/Qimu* as analogous to *Yousheng*, then many longer and more complex movements deserve consideration. Thematic relationships between these and other *Guyue* movements are no less evident than they are between *Tōgaku* movements. Although there is at present no suggestion that the *Yousheng* of *Guyue* may once have appeared at the beginning of suites, it is apparent that they, like the *Yousheng* of *Tōgaku*, were shorter than the often more extensive *Qi/Qimu*, themselves more analogous to the lengthy *Tōgaku xu* 序.[8] Whatever the ancestry of *Guyue*, the performance-practice of such extended free-tempo movements (none too common in Chinese ensemble-music) provides an attractive model for the rendition of Tang Preludes.

[3] Read 代, attested by Li Shigen, e.g. *Quji* 6, p. 49.

[4] The transcription given here is from the Dongcang; for the Xicang version see *Quji* 6, p. 45.

[5] *Liaoshi* 遼史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju edn) 54, p. 885ff.

[6] The thorny question of *qupai* 曲牌 in Chinese music, and their ancestry, awaits serious and detailed study.

[7] See *Quji* 4, p. 120

[8] For one appraisal of structural resemblances between Tang *daqu* and *Guyue* suites, see Li Shigen, 1980/3, cited in n. 1 above.

In Fascicle 6 it is planned to publish the flute-version of *Ōdai hajin-raku/Huang di pozhen yue* from the *RTHKF* (this fascicle, p. 16), printed over that from *KCF* (Fascicle 3, pp. 56–68), and this in turn over the single-stave, justified conflation prepared by N.J.N. (Fascicle 2, pp. 76–9). On that occasion, the terminal colophon, authenticating the entire manuscript (*RTHKF*), written by Uzumasa no Hironuki 大秦廣貫 in 1685, will be reproduced and translated, together with Fujiwara no Nagamasa's own colophon to his copied version of *Ōdai hajin-raku*. Fascicle 6 will also include the remaining *Sada-chō* pieces and therewith will conclude the first mode-key group of the *Tōgaku* repertory.

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來自唐朝的音樂

During the two centuries before 841, the Japanese Court borrowed a large amount of mainly secular entertainment music from China, chiefly music of the Sui and Tang Courts. This music, known as 'Tang Music' *(Tōgaku)*, is preserved in manuscripts written between the eighth and thirteenth centuries and to be seen today in the library of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo and in other Japanese libraries.

In the twelve hundred years since this music was brought to Japan, Japanese performance traditions have diverged very considerably from the originals. This edition represents a first attempt to reproduce the music as it survives in the earliest manuscripts, written in some instances before the end of the Tang dynasty.

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